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OGARKOV ON DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES

LD172048 Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 17 Jul 81

["Gist" of KOMMUNIST article by Marshal Nikolay Ogarkov, USSR first deputy defense minister]

[Text] Writing in the magazine KOMMUNIST, Chief of Staff, First Deputy Defense Minister of the Soviet Union, Marshal Nikolay Ogarkov notes that the situation in the world continues to remain complex. The policy of imperialism, above all the United States. is creating the threat of a turn from the relaxation of tensions to a new cold war. The current United States leadership, he points out, is leading to the cancellation of the agreements concluded with the Soviet Union and also negotiations on limitation and reduction of arms. It is becoming obvious that the United States seeks to destroy everything that has been achieved and torpedo all that has been mapped out to restrict and reduce arms. Thereby it seeks to clear the way for an uncontrolled arms race.

The United States, Marshal Ogarkov notes, is openly pursuing a course for achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. It tries to change the current approximate parity of arms in its favor. This parity, we may note, has been acknowledged by American officials repeatedly.

The buildup of arms, Marshal Ogarkov points out, is being carried out not only by the United States but by NATO as a whole. The United States has made as part of its official policy interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, an active struggle against national liberation movements. The arm of American imperialism stretches out to all parts of the globe. Provocations and acts of sabotage have been carried out, above all against the socialist and also developing countries and national liberation movements. The existing military bases and facilities are being expanded and new ones are being built, and all these actions are determined by the so-called new military strategy being devised by the Pentagon.

All kinds of actions and subversive activities being carried out against the Soviet Union, the other countries of the socialist community, and against the world progressive forces by imperialism, Marshal Ogarkov writes, are coordinated by [word indistinct] are linked by a single design, and pursue the goal of gradually weakening step by step and undermining socialism as a system. The long-term objective is to establish the broad domination of American imperialism.

The Soviet military doctrine of scientifically grounded views on the essence and nature of war that can be imposed by imperialism, and on ways to prepare the country and its Armed Forces to repulse a possible aggression, is in full conformity with Lenin's foreign policy of peace. Our strategic doctrine, Leonid Brezhnev said, has an exclusively defensive (?stance). At the same time, in case of an attack by aggressors against the Soviet Union or its allies it envisages resolute actions by the Soviet Armed Forces, which are capable to the fullest extent to conduct not only defensive operations but also modern offensive operations on the ground, in the air and on sea.

A new world war, should it be unleashed by the aggressive forces of imperialism, would be a decisive clash between the two opposite social systems. It would involve all the continents and would be carried out by coalition groupings of armed forces with most resolute goals, with the use of all arsenals.

The lives of many hundred millions of people would be risked in this war, which would be the most savage and destructive ever. The very nature of advanced weapons has become such that should they be put into action, the future of the whole of mankind would be at stake.

Thanks to tireless care and attention from our party and the entire Soviet people, Marshal Ogarkov writes further, the Soviet Armed Forces are now strong enough to give, in case of necessity, a timely and due rebuff to any aggression, wherever it will come from. The attempts of imperialism to attain military superiority over us are futile.

To defend the country properly and rebuff the aggressor timely, Marshal Ogarkov points out, our Armed Forces are developed by plan, with particular emphasis being laid on the forces and means that ensure the military might of the army and navy to the greatest extent.

The first ingredient of this might at present are the strategic nuclear forces, the basic factor that holds back the aggressor. In case it would use strategic nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the retaliatory blow would be crushing. The advanced intercontinental ballistic missiles, Marshal Ogarkov stresses, can be launched automatically. Their tactical and technical characteristics make it possible to strike enemy targets in practically any part of the world and with sufficiently high precision.

ZAGLADIN REITERATES POSITION ON EUROPEAN SECURITY

LD192120 Moscow in French to Europe 1630 GMT 19 Jul 81

["Talk" by Vadim Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, entitled: "One Must Negotiate Immediately"]

[Text] There is currently much talk in the USSR as well as in the countries of Western Europe about security and the need to guarantee it. This cannot be contested. There is general conviction in the USSR that every country is perfectly entitled to demand that its security be guaranteed and we support this right of every people. Nevertheless, the security of any given European country is unimaginable without that of all the other European countries, and as a consequence of this, the security of each of them is undissolubly linked to that of the Soviet Union.

It would be fruitless to try and guarantee the security of one country to the detriment of the security of the others. Why? Because a nuclear bomb does not differentiate between the guilty and innocent, soldiers and civilians, neutral countries and signatories of military treaties, because a nuclear war in Europe would threaten all the countries of the continent from the Atlantic to the Urals. It follows from this that to ban nuclear war from Europe, not to allow Europe to be transformed into a theater of operations, is currently an absolute imperative. We are conscious of this and will make the effort to prevent war.

What must one do to this end? It is obvious that Europe's security is linked to that of the neighboring countries and regions, in particular to the security of the United States. So, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, I hasten to say that the USSR does not contemplate any guarantee of European security that would involve dangers for North America. The security of the Americans must be ensured for the same reasons that apply to all the European countries. It is for this reason that we insist on the continuation of the SALT negotiations. It is for this reason that we want so much to negotiate with the United States on the problem of medium-range nuclear weapons.

Because this type of weapon has called forth so many interpretations, I would like to very briefly call attention to the following:

First: The Soviet missiles which the West calls SS-20's are presented as something completely unexpected which gravely changes the situation in Europe. In fact, they do not change anything, at least as far as the civilian population is concerned. These new missiles are taking the place of old ones which have been in service for 20 years and are practically obsolete. We could not avoid replacing the old missiles because this would have meant remaining totally without arms of this type.

Second: Before installing the new missiles, the USSR proposed more than once to the United States that negotiations be started on the medium-range installations in Europe, including, of course, the forward-based American systems.

This was quite natural, because the old Soviet missiles were not designed to threaten cities but to counterbalance the American forward-based forces. Unfortunately, the United States did not react favorably to our proposals.

Third: By installing these SS-20 missiles, the USSR has been careful not to upset the strategic balance. It was for this reason that despite the false allegations circulating in the West, the total number of missiles the USSR has in its possession, far from having increased, has fallen. The same applies to the total power of our nuclear warheads. Their stock is one and a half times lower than what the NATO countries have in Europe.

Fourth: On three occasions during 1979, first in March and then in October and November, the Soviet Union, through its leader Leonid Brezhnev, proposed negotiations on the medium-range systems. We have even gone as far as to propose the unilateral reduction of the quantity of our missiles if the West renounces the installation of new deadly weapons of this type. The only reply we have received is called the dual decision of Brussels. It was pretended that it would lead to negotiations. One can recall, by the way, that the Europeans approved it on condition that the United States ratifies SALT II. But SALT II has not been ratified and the negotiations remain a dead letter.

Fifth: It is being said in the United States that negotiations with the USSR are in progress. This is wrong. There are isolated contacts which one could describe as talks on the talks concerning the presumed date of the start of negotiations. On the other hand, American officials such as Eugene Rostow do not hide the fact that the United States has no intention of starting serious negotiations, at least not soon.

Sixth: Despite all this, the Soviet Union states that the proposals it has put forward remain valid. We are still ready to conduct on a basis of equality negotiations that would lead to an important decision, a decision that would guarantee European peace.

The fact that the Soviet Union is ready to negotiate was confirmed by the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet which ended recently. On 23 June 1981 this session adopted a message to the parliaments and the peoples of the world. The highest legislative organ of the USSR stated: The guarantee of peace has been and remains the highest objective of the Soviet state's foreign policy. The Soviet parliament has called on the legislative organs of all countries and invited them to speak out resolutely in favor of talks which would result in the avoidance of a new upsurge of the nuclear missile race and in favor of honest talks, equal and without preconditions, without any attempt to force one's way.

On 30 June at a dinner given in honor of Willy Brant, chairman of the German Social Democratic Party, Leonid Brezhnev announced that the Soviet leaders are ready to take another step in order to start the negotiations and spur their success. He stated that the Soviet Union is ready to suspend the deployment of its medium-range missiles in the European part of the country on the day talks start on the root of the problem. This decision, of course, will be valid only if the United States also refrains from increasing its nuclear potential in Europe during the period of the negotiations. The Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev said, expects real and tangible results from these talks. We believe that it is time to embark on the path of the reduction of missiles and nuclear armaments. Disputes can be resolved only by negotiations and negotiations are likely to lead to solutions acceptable to all.

At the 26th CPSU Congress, Leonid Brezhnev, summing up the position of the USSR on the issue of cooperation with the countries of Western Europe, stressed that the deployment of new American missiles on the territories of these countries could not fail to prejudice our relations. On the other hand, the peaceful development of relations between the USSR and the countries of Western Europe would be of great benefit. We believe, Leonid Brezhnev said, that the procedure begun at the Erupean conference must continue without interruption. Every form of negotiation, multilateral or bilateral, must be employed to resolve the problems that preoccupy Europe.

PRAVDA CRITICIZES WASHINGTON SALT STANCE, ATTACKS

FM171521 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 81 p 4

[S. Vishnevskiy article: "Through Washington's Fault"]

[Text] The 26th CPSU Congress described the problem of strategic arms limitation as extraordinary. This definition is dictated by alarming circumstances. Bellicose Western circles, headed by American imperialism, have launched an arms race on an unprecedented scale. Rapid and profound changes are taking place in the development of military hardware. Qualitatively new types of mass destruction weapons are being developed, of a kind which could make the monitoring and agreed limitation of them extremely difficult, if not impossible. A new stage in the arms race would greatly intensify the risk of the outbreak of thermonuclear carnage. In these conditions the limitation and reduction of the most destructive types of weapons is a most important task on the agenda in international life.

The SALT process began 17 November 1969 at the Soviet-American meeting in Helsinki. During that cold late fall I often heard from certain American colleagues gathered in the Finnish capital that the talks which had begun were unpromising, since it is "impossibly difficult" to reach agreement on questions connected with the most modern, complex weapons systems. These questions are, indeed, not simple. Nonetheless from the first the USSR set a clear, energetic course toward the attainment of a mutually acceptable agreement. This is confirmed by American figures. "After the very first meetings with Soviet representatives," G. Smith, then head of the U.S. delegation, recalls in his memoirs, "we were convinced that the Soviet Union had a sincere interest in reaching agreement."

The talks were very difficult and prolonged. But their experience showed that reason and good will and strict observance of the principles of sides' equality and identical security can lead to practical, useful results. The first agreement (SALT I) was reached in 1972. There was the Soviet-American treaty on the limitation of antiballistic missile systems, later supplemented by a protocol, and the interim agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms. Thus the foundations were laid for progress along the path of restraining the nuclear missile arms race.

It took nearly 7 years of painstaking work to elaborate the next agreement. On 18 Jun 1979 the USSR-U.S. treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms (SALT II) and the protocol to it were signed in Vienna. This treaty is richer in content than the 1972 interim agreement. It covered not only ground-based ICBM's and ballistic missiles deployed on submarines but also strategic bombers. If the treaty had come into force, then, it stipulated, beginning 1 January 1981 the number of launching devices would have been limited to 2,250 on each side. Qualitative limitations were imposed on the improvement of strategic systems, relating to the capacity of missiles, the number of warheads and so forth.

The SALT II treaty opened the way for an end to the buildup in arsenals of nuclear missile weapons and then a substantial reduction.

However, it should be noted that even then the SALT process was under fire from the U.S. military-industrial complex. The forces of militarism displayed open hostility toward any measures hindering the creation of instruments of death. After leaving the White House G. Ford admitted that the fault for the long delays over signing the SALT II treaty rested with "committed supporters of military superiority in the Pentagon." The militarists systematically sent their envoys to the conference hall--from Paul Nitze to Gen Edward Rowny.

After the signing of the SALT II treaty the military-industrial complex launched a massive campaign to thwart its Senate ratification. Fierce battles broke out on Capitol Hill. Under pressure from the "hawks," J. Carter's administration retreated step by step and early last year, after launching a hypocritical campaign over the Afghan events, the administration itself proposed that the Senate postpone ratification.

Before his election as President, R. Reagan repeatedly advocated that the 1979 treaty be discarded. When relatively broad circles of the U.S. public criticized this very negative position Reagan changed his tune and began to make public assurances that, all in all, he was not against the SALT process and that if he won the election he would immediately start talks with the USSR.

But, on entering the White House, Reagan promptly "forgot" that promise. At a press conference back in January he made the vague statement that the United States would embark on "a discussion leading to talks when we are able to do so." But when? "It will take a good 6 months to formulate policy," Defense Secretary C. Weinberger announced.

Six months have passed. Recently E. Rostow, who was appointed director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, again postponed the proposed talks by declaring that they might begin "in approximately 9 months."

More procrastination, then.... The U.S. administration justifies itself by saying that it is carrying out an "active overall review of the whole broad problem of SALT" and is formulating the U.S. stance at the talks. But few Western commentators believe that Washington is sincere. Rostow himself admits: "I know no one in the administration who has any idea what we are going to talk about."

The only clear sound from the lips of U.S. officials is the endless stream of abuse against the 1979 treaty. The attacks on it are not exactly original. They were made by the hawks 2 years ago and were ably refuted by a Soviet foreign relations commission. Reagan maintains that the treaty "authorizes the buildup of strategic arms by both sides." Nothing is said about the ceilings on the total number of launch installations. "The President," the New York TIMES says, "omitted to say that the buildup would be of a severely limited nature."

The U.S. administration maintains that the treaty "would upset the balance of power in the USSR's favor" and would, therefore, damage U.S. interests. This ignores the fact that during 7 years of talks every point and every figure in the document was painstakingly studied and pondered by the U.S. military and intelligence departments. The Joint Chiefs of Staff reached the conclusion that SALT II meets U.S. security interests. The U.S. administration is sowing doubts about the possibility of monitoring observance of the treaty, although the intelligence organs reckon that monitoring via national facilities is provided for.

Secretary of State A. Haig stubbornly insists that the 1979 treaty will never be approved by the Senate. Presidential adviser E. Meese has publicly announced: "Neither legally nor morally are we obliged to observe SALT I or SALT II." Thus, the accords reached previously are being quietly buried. This is a crude violation of U.S. international law commitments. Washington is also showing that it deceived its NATO allies by promising to secure ratification of SALT II. Indeed, fulfillment of that promise was a condition of the West European partners' consent to the plans for the deployment of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in their countries.

In light of these facts can we believe Washington's assurances of adherence to the SALT process? The appointment of two people who have a particularly odious reputation in the United States itself--E. Rostow and E. Rowny--as "chief disarmers" was a sharp shock for people in the West who had any illusions on this score. We have before us the Senate Foreign Relations Committee report on SALT II. These two names are encountered on many pages of the weighty document: On all aspects of SALT Rostow and Rowny invariably said "no"...

NEWSWEEK's comment is worthy of note: "Reagan intends to support SALT verbally (!) although he does not like it." But in fact? To this day, behind the propaganda screen of declarations about the "desirability of curbing armaments," an unprecedented program of building up the means of warfare is being mounted.

Special emphasis here is placed on the production and deployment of sophisticated strategic systems--the Ohio submarine missile carriers, the MX mobile missiles, cruise missiles, the B-1 and Stealth heavy bombers, space-based weapons and so forth. These are offensive weapons. Many of them have a preemptive strike potential. Their creation and the plans to deploy new medium-range missiles in West Europe are aimed at disrupting the prevailing approximate equilibrium of forces between the USSR and the United States and attaining U.S. military superiority. With cynical frankness C. Weinberger revealed the transatlantic strategists' far-reaching aggressive plans: "It is on them (that is, the new strategic systems--S.V.) that we pin our hope of being able to win victory."

When the militarists are impeded by the SALT accords they are prepared to remove them unceremoniously. The 1972 treaty limiting ABM systems and the protocol to it--accords of essentially indefinite duration--are being undermined. The Pentagon is nurturing plans for the mass deployment of ABM systems for the defense of complexes of offensive missiles designed for attacking the socialist countries. Since the mid seventies the Pentagon has spent approximately $0.25 billion a year on scientific research in the ABM sphere. Weinberger has publicly declared his intention to deploy new systems. The 1972 treaty is an obstacle to the Pentagonites and, according to U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, they are burning with the desire to "sink" it.

The U.S. military department has officially stated that beginning on January next year submarines will begin to be equipped with cruise missiles with a range of up to 1,126 km and beginning in mid-1984 missiles with a range of as much as 2,170 km will be deployed on surface ships. Under the protocol to SALT II the range of sea-based and land-based cruise missiles is limited to 600 km. However, the administration has assured the naval command that "there is no need to worry" about treaty restrictions, including "subsequent" restrictions! The SALT process has been selected as the first target for the new missiles.

In the debate under way across the ocean on the means of basing the MX mobile missiles voices are also to be heard urging that the SALT agreements be ignored.

The U.S. administration's credo was eloquently expressed by Reagan himself in his speech in May at the West Point military academy: "The argument, if there is any, will be over which weapons we need and not whether we should forsake weaponry for treaties and agreements." So, a completely free hand?

It looks as though the U.S. administration has deliberately broken off the SALT process with a view to an unprecedented acceleration of the arms race. This course threatens the interests of all peoples. It is eliciting a resolute rebuff from the Soviet people and all peace-loving mankind.

The transatlantic strategists' calculations aimed at winning the arms race are senseless and ultimately futile. Their hopes of attaining military superiority are built on sand for the Soviet Union will never allow the disruption of the prevailing approximate parity of the opposing forces. The acceleration of the arms race runs counter to the fundamental national interests of the United States--that is what many sober-minded U.S. figures are stating with increasing resolution. They realize that Washington's desire for military superiority renders the country's security shakier. The sensible alternative to the unrestrained buildup of military potentials is the mutual reduction of armament levels.

It is essential now to do everything to bar the way to those who hanker after unlimited armaments and military adventures. Concerned at the increased danger of war, the USSR Supreme Soviet has appealed to the world's parliaments and peoples to express themselves resolutely in favor of talks with a view to preventing a new round of the nuclear missile arms race. There is no sensible means of resolving disputes other than talks--honest, equal talks without preliminary conditions or attempts to impose a diktat.

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE

LD191818 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0845 GMT 19 Jul 81

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Nikolay Ivanovich Agayants, commentator of the International Section of All-Union Radio; Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov, TASS political observer; and Mikhail Sergeyevich Lvov, international affairs journalist]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, esteemed comrade listeners. The events of the past week as well as those of our entire lives confirm the profound, capacious and accurate nature of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the current international situation which is contained in the documents of the 26th CPSU Congress and in the well-known recent statements by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. Indeed, for our allies, the fraternal countries of the socialist community, the pivotal direction in foreign policy activity has been and remains a principled and consistent struggle to ease the threat of war and to curb the arms race. Consolidation of peace on earth is the guiding thread to the future. It is precisely for this reason that the new Soviet peace initiatives have been accorded such a unanimous and ardent response in the hearts of millions of people of good will. This is also shown by the reports coming in from various countries on the support accorded by governments and the progressive public to the USSR Supreme Soviet's appeal to the world's parliaments and people.

Afghanistan, Poland Viewed

Imperialist propaganda attempts in every way to prove what is unprovable--namely, that an improvement of the political climate around the globe and a relaxation of international tension are possible only as a result of the arms race and the development of more and more new means of mass destruction. From the viewpoint of the ideologists of imperialism, both the arms race and the development of new types of weaponry act not as a threat to the security of the peoples but as a means of safeguarding peace. Exposing this sort of absurd logic, Karl Marx wrote that of all narrow policy dogmas, none had created so much trouble as the dogma which says: If you want peace, prepare for war. The words spoken by Marx over 100 years ago, as you can see, are topical at the present time and accurately characterize the essence of the current imperialist concepts of peace on the basis of strength.

A most important event of the past week was the meeting on 17 July in the Crimea between Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council, who is in the Soviet Union on holiday.

Leonid Ilich characterized the current international situation as having grown considerably more complex of late because of the actions of imperialist circles, above all U.S. imperialist circles. These circles are pursuing an adventurist line of undermining detente, whipping up militarist hysteria and building up the arms race. Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and Babrak Karmal considered international aspects of the situation around Afghanistan. They noted that as a result of interference by a number of imperialist countries, hegemonist forces and their allies, the efforts to achieve a political settlement of the problems connected with Afghanistan have still not got onto a practical footing. A settlement is possible, and the well-known proposals of the Soviet Union and the DRA could serve as a fine basis for it.

At the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, a speech was made by Comrade Grishin, head of the CPSU delegation. He said, in particular: We sincerely hope that the extraordinary forum of Polish communists will be up to its historic responsibility and will adopt decisions which will help to normalize the situation within the country. This accords not only with the aspirations of millions of Poles, but will be greeted with satisfaction by the peoples of the USSR and other countries of the socialist community and all progressive forces.

[Kornilov] I recently had occasion to visit Poland as part of a delegation of Soviet party journalists. We visited a number of industrial enterprises in Warsaw and Krakow, met and had detailed conversations with workers, communists and nonparty members and leaders from party organizations, and we also visited the PZPR Central Committee. Those with whom we spoke said that at the present time in Poland a struggle, an acute struggle, is underway for the fate of socialism and the people, which are being endangered by forces hostile to socialism.

These attitudes were also distinctly manifested at the PZPR Congress, which you have just mentioned. This congress has been convened at a time of difficulty for socialist Poland. The speeches of the delegates have shown the grave situation in which the country finds itself as a result of the prolonged and profound crisis. Calls were to be heard there for resolute actions in the interests of consolidating socialism.

At the present time, the work of the PZPR Congress is being extensively discussed and commented on throughout the entire world, both by friends of People's Poland and also by its open and disguised enemies. As far as the Soviet people and Soviet communists are concerned, holding close to their hearts the affairs and concerns of the Poles, they believe that the PZPR and the Polish people will be able to surmount the present grave crisis, give a rebuff to counterrevolution, which is on the offensive, and lead the country forward along the path of socialism and all-round progress and prosperity for Poland. The condition for this is, above all, the full restoration of the fighting ability of the PZPR and a strengthening of its cohesiveness on a principled Marxist-Leninist basis. We Soviet people have considered and do now consider that leading the country out of the crisis is a matter for Polish communists themselves and for the working people of People's Poland. At the same time, we and our party cannot be indifferent when it is a question of the fate of socialism in a fraternal country, since it is not a Soviet principle to abandon one's friends and allies in trouble.

[Agayants] I would remind you that in the review report to the 26th CPSU Congress, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev said: The history of world socialism has known every sort of test. It has included moments of both complexity and crisis, but communists have always boldly met attacks by the enemy and have been victorious. This is the way it has been and this is the way it will be. Let no one doubt our general determination to safeguard our interests and to defend the socialist gains of the peoples. We are struggling for the just cause of peace and the peoples' security, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev stressed, and for the interests of the working people. We have on our side the truth of Marxist-Leninist teaching and our strength lies in unity and cohesion.

U.S. Foreign Policy

[Kornilov] But, you know, there is another side to world politics. There are the forces who are banking on something else, who are following a different course and who make the pivot of their foreign policy line reliance on force and the arms race. It is this line that is being pursued more and more stubbornly and more openly by the U.S. imperialist circles and the new Washington administration. This was reaffirmed a few days ago by U.S. Secretary of State Haig in his speech on arms control, a speech which the American press itself assesses as exceptionally important and very nearly a policy speech. What can you say, Mikhail Sergeyevich, about this speech?

[Lvov] One should, of course, say something about Haig's speech, but I would like to do this against a broader background. After all, within a few days we will be at the end of the first 6 months in office of the new American administration headed by President Ronald Reagan. At the present time a debate--a fairly curious and, I would say, amusing debate--is underway in the United States as to whether Reagan's foreign policy has been formulated, whether it exists or whether the new administration is operating by trial and error. It is being said, indeed, that up till now there has not been a single complete major foreign policy speech by the President.

Representatives of the administration are constantly stressing that in many directions of foreign policy a review of the former courses pursued under the Carter and even earlier administrations is still continuing. This applies to the limitation of strategic arms, law of the sea, Latin America, African problems, Asian problems, and so forth. A lot is being written about the confusion in the upper echelons of Washington's foreign policy leadership and about rivalry between Haig and White House people, the President's closest advisers.

[Kornilov] Reagan himself said in this connection that sometimes the right hand does not know what the extreme right hand is doing.

[Lvov] Nevertheless, the chief direction of the new American administration's foreign policy course, its backbone, has been formulated. If one is to put it briefly and attempt to give a definition, it is a course of creating a situation of military superiority for the United States in order to yet again attempt to change the course of world history. This is best manifested in the decisions made by the administration concerning new weapons systems and new military undertakings. There has been a sharp increase in military appropriations--20 to 30 percent, and eventually almost double. Then there is the development and adoption--evidently in the very near future--of a new system for deploying the most powerful American strategic missile--the MX; the development and production of a new long-range strategic bomber; the intensified forcing upon the European states of new strategic missiles, a decision on which had been taken earlier but which is now to appear in practice on the territories of the European states; and the President's new directive on arms trade policy. As long ago as the middle of President Carter's term in office--and this is worth recalling in connection with the Soviet-American talks on limiting the sale and supply of conventional arms--he stopped the talks and put them into cold storage, though they offered the possibility of some progress. Now, even the very cautious and very minor limitations in the sphere of arms trade that existed under Carter have been cancelled and the United States, is entering a phase of unlimited trade in the most up-to-date types of arms. This is proclaimed in the presidential directive as an integral part of the United States foreign policy. Here, too, is the decision to sell arms to China. It is also the policy of military assimilation of the Indian Ocean.

[Kornilov] But you are citing facts relating not to foreign policy, but rather to military policy. Where is the foreign policy of the Reagan administration?

[Lvov] In the first place, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, foreign policy and military policy are deeply intertwined. Secondly, the whole gist of the matter is that in the foreign policy of the Reagan administration, classical foreign policy actions are precisely intended for the purpose of advancing the military decision of which I have been speaking. A couple of examples in this connection: the Pershing missiles and the cruise missiles that the Americans are foisting on Europe. In the last few months under the Reagan administration the whole system for bringing political and diplomatic influence to bear on the FRG, Belgium the Netherlands, Italy and the other states of Western Europe where these missiles are to be deployed has been greatly intensified. There is the confirmation of NATO's dual decision to deploy American missiles and at the same time hold talks with the Soviet Union; there is the repeated rejection, imposed by the Americans, of our proposals for a moratorium on the deployment of these missiles--called, not for nothing, 'Eurostrategic' missiles--missiles that fulfill their strategic function not from U.S. territory but from that of Western Europe. And now it is in this connection that I want to come back to Haig's speech, which you mentioned. Yes, that speech was entirely devoted to the theme which in the U.S. is called 'arms control' and which in Russian may be termed arms limitation. Haig put forward six principles of the policy of the Reagan administration on the question of arms limitation. The real content of these principles boils down to three theses. First, arms limitation talks must not--in subject, character or results--limit the deployment of the latest weapons systems. Second, even on this condition, we must not be in any hurry to get on with the talks.

Third, every possibility of progress at the talks must be tied up with the resolution of other international questions under conditions that will be put forward by the U.S. So it is a very purposeful policy. I would say it is a policy of anticontrol of arms, antilimitation of arms.

[Kornilov] So what emerges, Mikhail Sergeyevich, is that the foreign policy of the present U.S. Government concentrates on securing military policy by foreign political means. Is that a correct understanding of the matter? And is this not what the former U.S. secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, had in mind when he said awhile ago that the Reagan administration has no foreign policy, but only a military pose?

[Lvov] Vance said in English: Military posture [rendered in English]. Yes, that means military pose. But that is probably what he did, indeed, have in mind, that there is no foreign policy directed toward solving questions, but there is a foreign policy serving the aim of creating military superiority for the United States.

I have just received--I have it here in front of me--Vance's latest statement to a correspondent of the West Cerman magazine STERN. Here, he says: One gets the impression that the Reagan administration believes that political problems can be solved by military means. There you have the real essence of American policy at the present time. It is, I repeat, to strive for military superiority in every area.

[Kornilov] But if all that is so, what are the prospects? What can we expect in the foreseeable future?

[Lvov] I think one must be realistic about this. The American administration is attempting to give a military answer to the problems of our time--or, as is sometimes said, the challenges of our time. It is a simple answer, a simple answer to complex questions: We, the United States, will be stronger than anyone else; then all will be well. That attempt will undoubtedly and inevitably lead to a further worsening of the existing problems, to increased tension. Senator Byrd, the leader of the Democratic minority in the Senate, said that in recent months tension has already increased under the Reagan administration. Why is this happening? Because that policy, based on the course towards military superiority, not only does not settle existing conflicts, but will inevitably engender new ones. This will lead to an undermining of international stability and increase the risk of war.

[Kornilov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, does not all that you have been saying lead us to be overly pessimistic, or rather, arrive at one-sided conclusions?

[Lvov] What we are saying is one side of the world picture, if there were nothing else in the world, then, indeed, we would have serious grounds for pessimism. But reality is richer than that. Reality is such that it is more correct to say that there are great difficulties ahead, but also many possibilities for serious and positive advances. In the last few months alone, on the one hand answering the militarist course of the Reagan administration and on the other hand in response to our peace-loving foreign policy actions, the movement for peace in Western Europe has increased, not only quantitatively, but qualitatively. It is not by chance that NATO Secretary General Luns said 3 days ago that he is alarmed at the development of opinion in Western Europe over the question of the deployment of American medium-range missiles.

[Kornilov] Such alarm among the NATO hawks increased particularly after the huge response to the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the parliaments and peoples of the world.

[Lvov] True. Major positive actions which meet with such wide response from public opinion cannot in our time fail to influence the positions of governments, in particular in countries such as those in Western Europe. In spite of their class unity with the United States, they are frightened by the present militarist course of the Reagan administration. It is making them uneasy. I think one can say with a certain degree of probability that this anxiety will be expressed at the meeting of the seven biggest Western capitalist states scheduled to be held in Ottawa on Monday and Tuesday.

Opposition to American policy in the so-called Third World--that is, among the liberated and, for the most part, nonaligned states--is mounting steeply. It is not so simple in our day to pursue a militarist course on a global scale. And the Reagan administration in already coming up against this, and it will continue to come up against this more and more.

Kampuchea, China Discussed

[Agayants] Everything you have been talking about, Mikhail Bergeyenvich, is confirmed every day by an increasing number of new facts and examples. Take, for instance, the widely-publicized so-called international conference on Kampuchea, which is nothing short of a crude provocative farce played out by the Washington and Beijing stage managers.

[Kornilov] I would call it a wretched farce.

[Agayants] Yes, indeed. This conference, as the Cuban GRANMA notes, is illegal. It impudently flouts the principles of the sovereignty and self-determination of the Kampuchean people and is directed against a state which only quite recently was threatened with total destruction at the hands of the Pol Pot executioners, those placemen of great-power Chinese expansionism. A similar appraisal of this gathering is given by the Lao paper SIANG PASASON which stresses that the Beijing hegemonists and American imperialists are using the notorious conference as a screen for open interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

[Kornilov] The farce in New York has made it possible to once again show in its true light the political line of certain states--and not just the United States, but Beijing, for instance. This is important if you consider that certain Western propaganda organs, particularly recently, have been devoting entire pages to the changes which are taking place in China, asserting that the Beijing rulers are reviewing many of the major Maoist dogmas and postulates.

[Agayants] But some sort of new process is really taking place in China, and one of no small importance at that. It is well known, for instance, that the failures of the Maoist course in the economy and in politics and the crisis manifestations in the country and the party forced the participants in the recent Sixth CCP Plenum to admit, albeit, with reservations, a multitude of Mao Zeong's mistakes.

[Kornilov] True, quite true. The decisions of the sixth plenum criticize, for instance, the policy of the Great Leap Forward and the People's Communes foisted on China by the helmsman, the Cultural Revolution which he organized, and a number of Maoist policies which led the country to the gravest calamities and upheavals, such as the Maoist concept of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat which served to justify a policy of mass repressions in all Maoist campaigns. What is important to say, however, is that the same plenum did not in the least demonstrate any intention by the Beijing leaders to surmout the ruinous legacy of Maoism in domestic policy. What, for instance, is the value of the proposition advanced in Beijing that Mao's services are of primary importance and his mistakes secondary? And looking at Beijing's foreign policy course, one sees no positive changes. On the contrary, I would say that in the international arena China today acts more openly and forthrightly than ever before as a strike force of world reaction, directly opposed to the revolutionary currents of the modern world, continuing its hegemonistic line towards the heating up of conflicts and the kindling of enmity and hatred among peoples. Observers indicate in this connection that the upshot of the decisions of the Sixth CCP Plenum consist precisely in consolidating the so-called thoughts of Mao as the party's guiding ideas and also in consolidating Beijing's proimperialist course in the international arena.

VOA, Propaganda Radios Scored

[Lvov] It would no doubt be appropriate to return once again to the subject with which we began today's roundtable. Nikolay Ivanovich: the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, the situation in Poland. At a time when Polish communists and the working people of socialist Poland, drawing on the support and solidarity of their friends, are exerting every effort to surmount the protracted and deep crisis which has seized the country and to defend socialism, Poland remains the target of concentrated and even more intensified political and ideological pressure on the part of imperialism and its agents.

[Kornilov] Yes, during the days of the PZPR Congress, the psychological war unleashed in the West against the socialist countries has become even more intense. More and more attempts to interfere in events in Poland are evident. One only has to mention in this context the inflammatory broadcasts of the Voice of America and the other radio stations transmitting to the socialist countries, including Poland, which are controlled by the U.S. Government; I stress, by the U.S. Government. It is appropriate to recall that only the other day the American Senate passed new allocations for the U.S. foreign policy departments to engage in subversive propaganda. They include the International Communications Agency and the Board for International Broadcasting. The former received the record sum of $1 billion, the latter $200 million. The principal mouthpieces of these organizations are well known, the selfsame Voice of America, and the CIA-directed radio center, to be more precise, the provocative Radio (?Gullet), Liberty and Radio Free Europe. Thus, literally everything is being done to denigrate socialism and its true reality, the very ideas of socialism.

[Agayants] Facts show that interference of the imperialist powers in Polish affairs is not confined to radio broadcasting. I have in mind the revelations made by the Czechoslovak Secret Service Agent Hodic, who returned home after 3 and 1/2 years' work among emigre circles in the West. He reported, among other things, that the American special services, together with a number of other U.S. organs, had drawn up a long-term, concrete plan of actions, directed especially at undermining socialism in Poland, for 1979-80. The plan contained a detailed analysis of the internal political situation in the Polish People's Republic and defined the aims, ways and means for subversive work in that country.

[Kornilov] Thus, in other words, as we see, the U.S. imperialist circles and their accomplices and voluntary allies do not conceal the fact that they are calculating on weakening Poland as a link in the socialist community, and on undermining its united might in this way. The aim being pursued, moreover, is one and the same.

[Lvov--interrupting] It is to upset the equilibrium and to create for the United States a situation of military superiority.

[Kornilov] Quite right, Mikhail Sergeyevich. It seems to me that on this subject we can say just one thing: The Soviet Union and the socialist countries see all these far-reaching schemes of imperialism and its accomplices, and of course, under no circumstances will they permit them to be carried out.

[Agayants] The bellicose German Kaiser Wilhelm II had the inscription The Ultimate Argument of the King engraved in Latin on his guns. We do not know whether the nuclear bombs and missiles with which some people are attempting to intimidate the world bear any other inscription except Made in USA. It appears that certain circles in Washington clearly consider these bombs and missiles to be something like the ultimate argument of capitalism in its struggle against detente, against the irreversible sociopolitical changes which are taking place in the world. Peoples will not allow this argument to be used, however. As has already been said here, the imperialist powers are acting in accordance with the slogan: If You Want Peace, Prepare for War. Socialism has inscribed on its banners the slogan: If You Want Peace, Pursue a Policy of Peace and Struggle for This Policy. With that we come to the end of our program. Goodbye, comrades. All the best.

ZAMYATIN TALKS ON U.S. POLICY, PRC, JAPAN

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["Talk on International Topics" by Leonid Mitrofanovich Zamyatin, chief of the International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee--live or recorded]

[Text] Good evening, comrades. Recently Willy Brandt, well-known statesman of the FRG and chairman of the Social Democratic Party of the FRG, was received in Moscow. He was accompanied on his visit to Moscow by Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. This was Willy Brandt's sixth meeting with Leonid Ilich Brezhnev in the past decade.

As you know, Brandt has done much for the development of the relaxation of tensions and he was one of the first adherents of detente at the beginning of the seventies. Brandt was one of those figures who could look realistically at the time at the existing correlation of forces in the world, could evaluate this correlation of forces and take the path of establishing a situation of cooperation and confidence between East and West.

In 1970, together with the Soviet Union, a Soviet-West German treaty was worked out in detail. It was signed in August of 1970. It remains in effect to this day and determines the main trends in the development of Soviet-West German relations. It is the treaty that brought about a stabilization of the relations between our two countries and provided the opportunity for the peoples of both countries to derive great benefits from the economic, social, political and other forms of cooperation that were and continue to develop to this day between the Soviet Union and the FRG.

I am speaking of this today in order to remind you that the process of relaxation of tensions was a beneficial process that characterized the development of the international situation in the seventies. Unfortunately the eighties began with the militant U.S. administration deciding to break the process of detente and deciding to make Europe a continent of confrontation rather than cooperation and make relations with the Soviet Union into relations of rivalry not only in Europe, but practically around the world, so to speak, to exert at every point on the globe a kind of military and political pressure on the Soviet Union and on those countries that are developing friendly relations with our country and who are building those relations on the principles of solidarity, internationalism and independence.

During the talks in Moscow in which Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and other leaders of our party participated, questions of how to preserve the process of relaxation of tensions in Europe and prevent the dismantling of everything positive that was achieved by mankind, by the people of Europe during the past 10 years were naturally at the center of attention.

In an interview after the talks Brandt said that it is unlikely for the economic and political relations to survive if a suitable formula leading to military detente is not found. And he said that unfortunately it is precisely this side of the matter that is sharply lagging behind economic, cultural and other forms of cooperation.

Also at the center of the talks in Moscow were questions involved in stopping a new and extremely dangerous spiral in nuclear armament in Europe that is being foisted on Europe by the United States. Unfortunately a number of political figures in West Europe are also contributing to this.

After he concluded the talks and returned to West Germany, Brandt was interviewed by DER SPIEGEL. Here you see the issue in which this interview was published. The high point of this interview was when Brandt stressed that as a result of his talks with Leonid Ilich Brezhnev his conviction that the Soviet Union wants immediate talks with the United States on questions of limiting the arms race, and primarily on limiting nuclear missile arms, was strengthened. This is a complicated process and this is why it was said during these talks that they should be held on a basis of confidence, because the subject deals with an extremely fragile topic--the security of states. These talks should be conducted on a constructive level so as not to give the United States the opportunity--and there are such intentions--to use the talks in order to procrastinate and thereby carry out the preparations for the deployment of 600 destructive medium-range missiles on the territory of West Europe. The talks must be conducted in a spirit of frankness because otherwise it will be impossible to discuss this topic and to come to those conclusions that would provide an opportunity to limit this spiral in the arms race and maybe to even frustrate it altogether.

It should be said that Leonid Ilich Brezhnev did in fact stress during these talks that a dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States should begin without delay because time spent working not on relaxation of tensions is time spent working for the arms race. A plan to increase arms has been elaborated in the United States--military superiority should replace the previously existing and presently existing principle of equal security, which provides an opportunity to build relations between West and East without detriment to the defense or security of states on either side.

Brandt said that Leonid Ilich told him at the talks that the Soviet Union is ready--if the talks begin on the substance of the matter--to stop further expansion of Soviet medium-range systems on the very day the talks begin.

Naturally, if the United States also says the same thing. Brandt stressed in his interview that this is an extremely important point which must be taken into consideration by those circles in the west that say that the Soviet Union has a superiority in medium-range missiles and is continuing their buildup. If this thesis is correct, and if we believe those who say that the Soviet Union is continuing the buildup process, then talks whould be begun so as to stop this process...even by their logic.

Concerning superiority, comrades, this term has already been used more than once by the Western powers in their propaganda. Unfortunately it is also being used in confidential talks which the United States is conducting with the NATO countries. Now we know for certain that in these talks the United States is providing false information to its allies regarding the arms available to the Soviet Union in the western part--the European part--of the Soviet Union. This is being done to prove that the Soviet Union has superiority. There is no such superiority. Our leaders have said repeatedly and publicly that in delivery means the Soviet Union and the United States and NATO countries have an approximate parity.

Now if we are to speak of nuclear charges, of nuclear warheads, then the United States in this case has a 1.5 times superiority as compared to the Soviet Union and countries of the Warsaw Pact. If American weapons totaling 600 units are deployed, then the American superiority in the means of delivery will be 1.5 times and twofold in nuclear charges.

This is what the United States is striving for and it wants to achieve this. I will cite an example for you, a recent statement by one of the officials of the U.S. State Department who said directly the other day--although he asked journalists not to name him--that the Western alliance must push forward the plans for expanding new medium-range missiles on European territory as any other course would give the Soviet Union the right of veto in relation to NATO decisions.

It is quite clear that the United States is pursuing a course not aimed towards talks with the Soviet Union--and this is a dangerous course. It was recently confirmed at a meeting of a Senate committee--and this is a most interesting fact--by none other than the future director of the U.S. Agency for Disarmament and Arms Control, Eugene Rostow. He made his statement at the very moment when the Senate committee was confirming his appointment to this post. And so this future director, and now incumbent director, of this agency declared in response to the question: When will the United States begin talks with the Soviet Union on medium-range weapons? He declared that at best the U.S. administration will be ready for talks in 9 months, that is next year. However he added that he does not know what it is the Americans wish to talk about--maybe somebody will be struck by a bright idea, this official said. The embarrassed chairman of the committee -and it was Percy--reminded him that in this case the administration had failed to live up to its preelection promise regarding the beginning of preparations for talks on limiting arms.

Eugene Rostow did not reply to this but another U.S. official closer to Reagan than Eugene Rostow, his assistant Baker, did so to the question from correspondents: Was the problem of limiting strategic arms pushed into the background by Reagan or not? And if so has the President not tricked the people, and does he plan to adopt measures soon to conduct talks or not--the journalist wanted to know this as well. Baker quite frankly replied, and I quote: Well, of course, the President could have tricked the people. The testimony made in the last few days by Eugene Rostow and the comments made by the secretary of state at the end of the week testify to the fact that we expect talks to begin next spring at the earliest.

So there, comrades, you have the real position of the United States of America, which is not the one it speaks of publicly in order to convince the people that the United States is also in a hurry to sit at the conference table. No, it is not in a hurry to sit at the conference table and this is why it was particularly stressed at the talks held in Moscow between Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and Willy Brandt that the factor of time is of extremely great significance and that it is essential to immediately sit down at the conference table if in fact they want to solve questions concerning European security. This was one of the main results of the talks in Moscow and on our part there is a complete readiness to begin such talks...an answer is needed from the United States of America.

Now, comrades, I would like to dwell on another issue which is related directly to the topic which we have just discussed. Recently American politicians have leveled serious criticism at the policy of the United States in the sphere of foreign relations. Recently such figures as Vance, the former secretary of state; Ball, assistant secretary of state; Kennan, well-known historian and formerly a politician and ambassador to the USSR: and many other statesmen, have come out with statements. They call the present Reagan policy rash, blind, and incapable of leading the world to anything good and that it can only lead to confrontation and to the possible emergence of local or even larger conflicts for which the Reagan administration would be responsible.

Yes indeed, international relations are not cowboy movies. International relations have their own laws, agreements and treaties, and their own extensive history that shows how they can be built so that the world can live on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Reagan administration is now rejecting all this and, if this is so, this policy--of breaking existing treaties and agreements--is an immoral policy. It is a policy that one of the leading journalists in the West called a policy of treachery. It does not correspond with the interests of the people and thereby evokes enormous protests today, even in the West, including the United States.

Yet this does not signify the arrival of a turning point or that the U.S. Government has begun looking for a different course for relations. No, a completely fixed idea remains--the establishment of the military might of the United States, a might on which the United States itself can lean to insure its domination in the world and to build relations with the Soviet Union not on the basis of treaties but on the basis of confrontation. This means that the United States rejects concrete talks with the Soviet Union on limiting the arms race, on limiting strategic arms, which were contained in the SALT II treaty signed, on behalf of the United States, not simply by any official, but by the president. There cannot be a situation in which one President leaves and another President, acting on behalf of the state, in essence, rejects the signature of his predecessor. Can one believe such a state or such a government? Of course not. This is indeed why people are now appealing to the United States to take a sensible look from realistic positions at everything that developed in the seventies and at everything that is developing in the eighties. The United States will not gain military superiority; the Soviet Union will simply not allow this to happen. And the fact that the United States plans to carry a big stick, about which so much has been said, well, it cannot be carried without danger today.

The other side also has such a stick and that is why it is necessary to return to a course of cooperation--to a course beneficial to the interests of both the United States and other peoples and the Soviet Union as well--a course of equal security between states, a course that does not lead to superiority but leads to cooperation and the search for an agreement on settling emerging disputes.

Dear comrades, I have received many letters in connection with the last program. The majority of these letters ask for a response to questions concerning the situation in China. In particular, Nikolay Petrovich Nipershin from the town of Balashov in Saratovskaya Oblast, a CPSU member since 1951 and a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, asks: In what direction do the present rulers of China plan to lead their country after the recent Central Committee plenary session?

Comrade Vasiliy Petrovich Seryezhnikov from Omsk, a CPSU member since 19[illegible] and a construction worker, asks: Why did the Chinese need the severe criticism of Mao Zedong's policy and who in Beijing gained from this? Can it be expected that the Chinese leadership will improve its relations with the Soviet Union? Is this included in their plans?

A CCP Central Committee plenary session was held on 27 and 29 July. As expected, the plenary session examined two questions: first, the question of the election of a new CCP Central Committee chairman, and second, the question of approving the document--quite a voluminous document, and it [illegible]interesting that Western correspondents estimate that it comprises nearly 30.000 cha[illegible]ers--entitled: Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the CCP Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China.

In this document the post-Mao Zedong leadership essentially attempts to sum up the distinctive result of the CCP's activities over a period of 60 years and to propose a new version of the party's history, of the history of the state, subordinating it to the tasks of further consolidating the present political course of China's internal and foreign policies.

The document was timed to coincide with the celebration of the CCP's 60th founding anniversary on 1 July. The Chinese press calls this document most important for reorienting the party's ideological and political platform. The appearance of this document and the protracted and sharp struggle in the Chinese leadership that preceded it were reflected in its contents. It should be said that this struggle continued even on the eve of the plenum--there was a meeting of a special commission where sharp discussion took place on the text of the future document.

Indeed the document reflects the struggle in the party and is a kind of compromise between various groupings in the present Chinese leadership. The compromising nature of the plenary session decisions can first be seen in such questions as the role and position of Mao Zedong and his ideas in the development of the party, in the development of the state. As you know the Deng Xiaoping group waged an offensive against its opponents for a long time under a flag of decisive measures and reassessment of the Mao Zedong role and the Cultural Revolution that he imposed, and a review of other leftist campaigns that were led by Mao Zedong and his accomplices. In recent times this met with serious opposition from those officials who were advanced into the Chinese leadership, including its top echelons, by the Cultural Revolution.

On this issue Deng Xiaoping also failed to get support from the old cadres, primarily from military cadres, since they were afraid that in this criticism Deng Xiaoping and his rightwing group of pragmatists could go too far, could debunk Mao Zedong to such an extent that it would be possible to lose the power base they inherited from Mao Zedong. This is why in the document, essentially, the Deng Xiaoping group and two other groups have come together in a kind of balanced assessment. As I said in my last program, in this document they have decided to put Mao Zedong's merits in first place while his mistakes are given second place.

In this document they proclaim Mao Zedong as a great strategist, a great theoretician. They regard Marxism and Maoism as the ideas that guided Mao Zedong in formulating his policy and hold that these ideas must remain for the future. It can be seen from this that the antagonistic groups want to retain Mao's name and his ideas as a factor for consolidating Chinese society and overcoming the deep crisis in the party and the country and to prevent the further deepening of the discontent and distrust in the leadership of the CCP.

The duplicity of the document and its contradictions are also manifested in the fact that along with the assertions of Mao Zedong's positive guiding role in the development of the Chinese revolution and his role in the elaboration of the CCP's policy and in the construction of socialism--as they call it--the plenum resolution also gives a completely definite and extensive official assessment of Mao Zedong's mistakes as well. In other words, they deal with this in the second part of the document, thus putting his merits to the fore and his mistakes to the rear.

Now, what do they list among these mistakes? The document sharply poses the question of Mao Zedong's main responsibility for the Cultural Revolution by describing it as the biggest blow to the party, the state and the people since the founding of the PRC. It says that the Cultural Revolution in no way represented a revolution and did not lead to socialism or progress. Remember, comrades, this is what our party said repeatedly when it assessed the Cultural Revolution while this so-called revolution was actually in progress in China.

The document thus admits that the principled ideas which Mao Zedong leaned on while expanding the Cultural Revolution did not conform with Marxism-Leninism nor with Chinese reality. At the same time, in order to vindicate Mao Zedong and to emphasize, so to speak, his merits, it immediately adds that the Cultural Revolution was begun and headed by Mao Zedong, but that he supposedly was led astray and exploited by counterrevolutionary cliques such as those of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng and that the entire blame should fall on them. In this connection the document stresses that they already have been punished for this. In other words, as for those mistakes that Mao Zedong made, people have already been punished for them and someone else has been blamed for them. Thus Mao Zedong has been shielded once again.

Another interesting aspect of this document, I think, is that Mao Zedong's serious miscalculations in the course of the Great Leap Forward are also listed among his mistakes. The communization of the countryside, as you may remember, was one of the major internal processes which made China and the Chinese people suffer painfully because this process diverged from the principles of China's socialist development.

Also listed among Mao Zedong's mistakes are his violation of intraparty democracy, his repression of cadres and his measuring of cadres' honesty by their loyalty to Mao Zedong "Book of Quotations." But at the same time it is stressed that Mao's mistakes in these spheres were the delusions of a great revolutionary whose tragedy, the document says, lay in the fact that he committed them in the supposed belief that his theory and practice were important for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The document goes so far as to assert that Mao Zedong headed the struggle against the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary group and criticized and wrecked the plans of Jiang Qing and others to seize power, and thus allegedly set the stage for the subsequent overthrow of the gang of four. This, you see, is how Maoism is adapted to subsequent developments.

Listed also among Mao Zedong's mistakes are his personality cult, exaggeratedly described as fanaticism, his alienation from reality and from the masses, and his autocratic style of work. But it is further noted that it was precisely these qualities of Mao Zedong which were taken advantage of by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng.

The document lays claim to formulating a corrected ideological and political platform of Sinicized Marxism or, as it is now called, a scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. Its major components, as is clear from the document, are pretensions to Chinese exclusivity, to a special Chinese way of revolution, and to a denial of the general rules of the development of socialism. It is no accident that when Mao's views and his quotations are formulated they are presented as a conjunction of Marxism-Leninism and the practical aspects of the Chinese revolution.

Entire sections of Mao Zedong's writings are cited selectively in the document. For what reason? In order to prove that a continuity exists between Mao Zedong's ideas and the current leadership.

But they have been touched up, renewed and adjusted to that which Deng Xiaoping wanted. They must be used as the basis for a Chinese model of development. The document's authors obviously planned to use these ideas as political concepts and to foist them on national liberation movements in the world.

A result of the adoption of the resolution, comrades, was also the fact that from the point of view of the interests of the so-called rightwing pragmatic faction headed by Deng Xiaoping, it essentially provided an ideological and political basis for further struggle in the party, against centrist forces in China itself and against those promoted by the Cultural Revolution, against whom a serious blow has been dealt by the official recognition of the incorrectness of their activities during the Cultural Revolution. Although the hypocritical statement about stability and about unity in the party is constantly reiterated in the document, this does not signify a weakening of the systematic interfactional struggle in the Chinese leadership which is continuing to this very day.

In connection with this, in my opinion, the reasoning given for the removal of Hua Guofeng from the post of CCP chairman, is of certain interest. Hua Guofeng was accused of pursuing a leftist line in politics and in the economy. He was accused of a dogmatic approach to the assessment of Mao Zedong and his ideas. They say that Hua Guofeng himself fanned his own personality cult and that he attempted to impose and defend the provisions of the Cultural Revolution and hindered the rehabilitation of previously repressed cadres.

Now all this is generalized, so to speak, in the document for the first time and against this backdrop the merits of Deng Xiaoping are deliberately being thrust to the fore, both in the elaboration of the present--as the document says--correct policy, and in indicating that Hua Guofeng's mistakes, which were committed at the 11th CCP Congress--in 1977, if our television viewers remember--in fact stemmed from the fact that the congress confirmed the correctness of the provisions and slogans of the Cultural Revolution. Now this is being raised again as an accusation against Hua Guofeng. They say that Hua Guofeng's removal from the post of CCP chairman is also justified by the fact that under his leadership it was impossible to correct the ostensibly leftist mistakes in the party.

So, having subjected Hua Guofeng to criticism, the rightwing pragmatic faction of Deng Xiaoping has thereby, if we are to speak frankly, accused all those leaders of left centrist leaning, who, up to now, have managed the party and country together with him and who were with him during the 1976-78 period, that is before the Third CCP Central Committee Plenum. Now it was precisely at this plenum, I would like to recall, that the Deng Xiaoping line was consolidated and the course of decisive struggle against the so-called left deviation was taken--that is, a course against Hua Guofeng.

So there you have, so to speak, a whole series of factors which deserve attention in connection with the concluded plenum of the CCP. At this plenum, you know, a whole series of cadre changes was also adopted. They were in essence not changes of the entire Politburo lineup. There were rearrangements, as I have already said. In place of Hua Guofeng, Hu Yaobang, a protege of Deng Xiaoping, took the post of party chairman. A definite place in the leadership was now also occupied by the prime minister of the PRC who is now one of the vice chairmen of the party--I have in mind Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council, who also belongs to the Deng Xiaoping group.

So, to a certain extent, the plenum was marked by the latest round in intraparty struggle which took place in the Chinese leadership with a known shift in Deng Xiaoping's direction. Deng Xiaoping secured a military post for himself which essentially gives him the opportunity to influence China's Army. This is the hardest nut for Deng Xiaoping to crack because the Ye Jianying group, the group of old marshals, retained its position in the leadership--and this too was a result of a compromise. It is nonetheless to a certain extent being pressured by Deng Xiaoping, by this new position which he assumed.

It is also noteworthy that Hua Guofeng remained a deputy chairman of the CCP. This is also a sort of compromise because it shows that Deng Xiaoping was unsuccessful in completely removing the Cultural Revolution group--something he had wagered on.

Speaking of the plenum as a whole it should be said that the plenum confirmed and developed a number of Mao Zedong's anti-Soviet concepts and also stressed his merits in the struggle with the Soviet Union, although, for the sake of objectivity, it should be said that in this document the assistance which the Soviets rendered during the establishment of the PRC is admitted for the first time. However, all this does not alter the general line of the present Chinese leadership which orients the party and Chinese people to struggle against the Soviet Union, to convergence with the countries of imperialism and primarily with American imperialism.

The rightwing pragmatic group of Deng Xiaoping can with good reason be called a pro-imperialist leading group of China. It is leading matters toward using the forces of imperialism and aggression in that global struggle which those forces are waging. Primarily this relates to teaming up with the Reagan administration upon a basis of anti-Sovietism. This cannot be concealed with any words about the loyalty of the CCP to the cause of supporting the people's liberation struggle. The practical activities of the Chinese leadership in foreign policy speak for themselves. And by these practical activities we can make judgments about what line and what policy the Deng Xiaoping group is pursuing.

Dear Comrades, there is also a large number of letters which I received recently concerning the United States-China-Japan triangle. This letter is from Anna Nikolayevna Nikitina. It expresses concern in connection with the growth of tensions in the Far East--she herself lives in Khabarovskiy Kray in the town of Vyazemskiy--and asks: How can the policy of the Japanese Government at the present time be characterized when the United States continues to play the China card and a convergence of the United States and China is taking place? What role in this game is being alloted to Japan by the United States and Beijing?

I would like to say that in recent months a certain shift towards militarization has been evident in U.S.-Japanese relations, towards imposing such a policy on Japan which would lead to the realization of American plans for hegemony in the Far East region. It is no accident that now, after Prime Minister Suzuki's visit to the United States, they are no longer talking about partnership relations between the United States and Japan but about relations of alliance. In other words, it seems to me, this formula conceals relations which in their nature are like those which the United States has with the NATO countries--that is to turn the Japan-U.S. treaty into some sort of treaty of military alliance.

We can come to this kind of conclusion on the basis of the fact that in the course of the talks which are still going on today between the United States and Japan a sharp increase in the military budget of Japan of about 7 percent is envisaged. Further, they envisage a division of the spheres of military influence of Japan and the United States in the Pacific Ocean region. Let's say that Japan has recently taken on the function of conducting military patrols in the western and northwestern part of the Pacific Ocean as far as the Philippines. Thereby it frees from these functions the 7th Fleet which is being moved closer to the Near and Middle East regions. Further, Japan has taken on a committment to mine a whole series of straits adjacent to this region in case special circumstances arise.

All of this points to the fact that the Japanese leadership has now taken a course towards Japan's further militarization. According to the Constitution the army should now only have Self-Defense Forces and they are restricted by the Constitution. It is considered that the present army numbers 270,000 men, mainly officers and sergeants. However Japan has already told the United States that in case of necessity it can expand its army to 1.3 million men.

I will cite some facts which show that Japan's Constitution is obviously being violated: The Japanese army already has 840 tanks, 520 self-propelled artillery pieces, 3,880 guns and mortars, nearly 300 Hawk and Nike antiaircraft guided missile launchers, 1,260 military aircraft and 160 naval vessels. Now is all of this needed for the Self-Defense Forces? Does not this contradict Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution which says that Japan will never in the future establish land, naval or air forces along with other means of warfare?

Yet the U.S. secretary of denfense has already vehemently said that the United States is ready to supply tactical nuclear weapons to Japan as well. Presently 2,200 of Japans's largest companies are working to arm Japan. This is what the policy of the present Japanese Government and of previous governments represents. Although changes are occurring in the Japanese Government--one minister of foreign affairs was recently substituted for another because supposedly a U.S.-Japan deal was incorrectly interpreted--in actual fact the process of armament of Japan is continuing in the framework of U.S.-Japanese relations of alliance.

All of this, comrades, is being done against a backdrop of propaganda which lays claim to the territory of others and is being carried out under a slogan of revanchism and militarism. The American and Japanese armies are, so to speak, already marching shoulder to shoulder and forces are already being established in Japan on which the United States can count. They consider that in immediate years ahead Japan must increase its military spending and begin the production of 40 submarines, including 10 atomic ones, as well as another 80 naval ships.

I am speaking of this today not only to show how U.S.-Japanese relations are being built under the new Reagan administration. I am speaking of this because we stand at the threshold of a date, the 6th of August, when in 1945 the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima from an American B-29 aircraft on the orders of President Truman, that haberdasher by education and upbringing and narrow-minded person who dreamed of American military supremacy. Three days later a bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. According to facts available today another three cities were to have been atomic bombed by the end of August--this was planned for 17 August--while a plan to bomb another series of cities in September was outlined in order to test other kinds and variations of American nuclear weapons.

There was no need for this. In one nuclear blow 300,000 people were destroyed in Hiroshima--that is what the vandalism of the United States represents. The war was already nearing its end and the Kwangtung army had already capitulated under the pressure of the Soviet Army. Yet bombs continued to rain down on Japanese cities.

Today parks of peace have been erected over those bomb craters. In Hiroshima there is a monument in this park made from the stabilizer of an atomic bomb and on it is a figure of a small girl releasing a small crane.

Of course you all remember the story about the girl who suffered from nuclear radiation poisoning and who for 10 years lived with the hope that she would survive if she cut out a thousand small paper cranes. She cut out 640 cranes before death from nuclear radiation overtook her, like the death which overtakes many people today who were infected 36 years ago by the nuclear radiation from the bombs dropped by the Americans. Each year the mayors of the cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima begin mourning ceremonies by placing lists under a rock of the people who died in the past year from the consequences of the atomic bombing of these cities by the United States.

The ceremony in Peace Square in Nagasaki begins at 2 minutes past 11--at the very moment when the bomb was dropped on this city. A bell begins to toll. The bell tolls for all those who died as a result of this barbarous and cruel act of the American militarists.

But this warning bell also reminds the living, including the people of Japan, what is represented by the arms race, by nuclear weapons and by the country's militarization.

I would like to conclude our program today, comrades, by citing the words of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, spoken by him recently: History taught a severe lesson. The people paid too high a price for not succeeding in averting war and in turning aside in time the imminent threat. We cannot permit, Leonid Ilich said, the tragedy to repeat itself. Everything must be done to prevent a new world war. I emphasize these words, these wise words which demand a decisive struggle for peace, to strengthen peace and against the arms race wherever it may be pursued.

Thank you comrades. Permit me to conclude the program with this and to wish you farewell. Goodbye.

UPCOMING WESTERN SUMMIT IN OTTAWA VIEWED

LD190001 Moscow TASS in English 1712 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Ottawa, 18 Jul, TASS--TASS special correspondents Gennadiy Shishkin and Artyom Myelikyan report: The leaders of seven leading capitalist countries will gather in the Canadian capital for an annual summit meeting due to open on July 20. It will be attended by the President of the United States Ronald Reagan, Japan's Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, the Chancellor of the FRG Helmut Schmidt, the President of France Francois Mitterrand, the Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada and the President of the Communities Gaston Thorn.

The meeting is to discuss economic issues and is expected to make one more attempt to work out a common position for solving major economic problems brought about by the deepening crisis of capitalism. The WALL STREET JOURNAL which expresses the views of U.S. big business writes that the allies are so disunited, and the contradictions over economic problems are so acute that they can hardly reach agreement on anything but a vague joint statement, and each one of them will take its own road afterwards.

Besides, an aggressive militarist policy pursued by the Reagan administration, its moves to whip up the arms race, its reluctance to negotiate arms limitation with the Soviet Union have caused such profound apprehension and bitter criticism on the part of the world public and have brought about such pressure on the governments of the seven nations that will take part in the meeting that the summit in Ottawa for the first time in the history of such meetings officially included in the agenda issues of East-West relations. The U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT magazine writes that although the summit meeting is convened to discuss economic problems, it will give equal attention to the fears of the allies over the anti-Soviet foreign policy of the U.S. administration and growing contradictions around the issue of the deployment of the U.S. nuclear weapons in Western Europe just as to the problems of high bank discount rates, inflation and protectionism.

On the eve of the meeting American press stresses the leading role of the United States in the Western world and President Reagan's intention to adopt the "position-strength" policy at the summit. Demonstrating its "toughness", the Washington administration tried to dampen criticism coming from its partners. However, the latter are especially dissatisfied with the fact that that the bank discount rate in the United States reached an unprecedented level of 20 per cent. This triggered a sharp artificial rise in the dollar exchange rate; by 36 per cent against deutsche mark, by 38 per cent against French franc, and by 13 per cent against the pound sterling. It is commonly known that 70 per cent of foreign trade deals in the capitalist world are made in dollars. This means a sharp growth in the prices of imports for other countries. To head off a disastrous flow of capital to the United States, Western European countries were compelled to raise their bank discount rates. This deepened the slump in production and caused higher unemployment.

In no mood to waive its interests, the United States nevertheless is trying to prevent a public scandal. The New York TIMES, quoting official sources, reports that President Reagan urged his partners to give him time in order to resolve the problem of high U.S. bank discount rates which strangle the economy of Western Europe. The United States is also going to bring pressure to bear on its allies to make them support Washington's course at limiting and shrinking trade and economic relations with socialist countries. However, the magazine BUSINESS WEEK notes with good reason that such an attempt is doomed to failure.

At the same time, according to a prominent U.S. commentator J. Harshe, all the partners of the United States want Reagan to start talks with Moscow on strategic arms limitation without delay, and none of them wishes to join Reagan in increasing military expenditures. On the whole, J. Harshe stresses, to all summitteers gathering in Ottawa massive unrest in Britain last week came as a grave warning of the extent of danger posed by the attempts to combat inflation by restricting credits and spurring unemployment.

Japan's Role at Summit

OW181033 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 0830 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Yuriy Afonin commentary: "At a Critical Juncture"]

[Excerpts] A summit meeting of industrialized capitalist nations is scheduled to be held on 20 July in Ottawa, Canada.

This annual event involving the leaders of seven industrialized capitalist countries has taken on conservative features in many aspects in recent years. Despite a fanfare of promises, the past meetings failed to prescribe a sure cure for economic crises and the present grave economic and social problems of capitalist society. The Ottawa meeting will probably be no exception.

Speaking of the United States, it pins great hopes on the Ottawa talks. First of all, it wishes to make use of the "Soviet threat" scarecrow to bind allies more tightly to its adventurist, militarist global strategy for world domination. Second, the United States expects that doing so will help strengthen U.S. leadership among the Western nations. Third, the United States thinks that a demonstration of "unity" and "solidarity" of between the industrialized capitalist countries will have the effect of easing--to whatever degree--or suppressing the acute confrontations that are rocking the capitalist world.

To make certain that all these expectations come true, the United States applied the necessary pressure on its allies on the eve of the Ottawa meeting. In this respect, Japan was no exception. The United States sought to squash the timid resistance Japan has shown toward its demand for a rapid military buildups and to end Japan's attempt to tone down the substance of the joint communique issued following the Suzuki-Reagan talks in May calling for a stronger Japan-U.S. military alliance. As it has before, the U.S. Government again employed arm-twising on the Japanese Government to put down successfully the latter's complaint.

At a cabinet meeting on 13 July, the Japanese Government decided to go along with the United States in its assessment of the current world situation and to reaffirm the military commitments Japan made at the Suzuki-Reagan meeting. It was also decided that Prime Minister Suzuki will inform President Reagan of all this at a meeting with him scheduled for 21 July in Ottawa.

Thus, at least the political loyalty of Japan as an ally has been secured. An impression has emerged that Japan is going to attend the Ottawa summit meeting in a state of complete subjugation to the Washington authorities. But the schemes of the United States are fraught with serious dangers to world peace. In fact, the U.S. attempt to concoct a new version of the holy alliance based on anticommunism and anti-Sovietism will only aggravate world tension. Perchance the United States is trying to accomplish this end.

However, will this move accord with Japan's national interests? We think it is not a bad idea for Japanese politicians to ponder over this unreasonable matter before it is too late and before the move becomes irreversible.

Japan's historical experience gives a clear answer to the question of what consequences will arise if Japan is to join an anticommunist, anti-Soviet bloc. Japan was an enthusiastic party to the Japan-German-Italy tripartite alliance known as the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. Everyone knows what consequences this brought to Japan. No one in the Soviet Union wants to push Japan into a diplomatic and military adventure as it was driven once before. In this sense, we say Japan is now on the borderline beyond which dangers lie. We anticipate that the Japanese authorities have sense enough to prevent Japan from crossing this line and to return Japan to a policy of maintaining good-neighborly relations with its neighbors. To do this will be in complete accord with the interests of the Japanese people.

SPEAKERS AT SECURITY COUNCIL ON LEBANON

LD180837 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] New York, 18 Jul, TASS--Israel's new barbarous attacks on Lebanon are a clear example of the Israeli tactics of "dealing preventive strikes." Even according to preliminary estimates, these attacks resulted in 300 dead and 800 wounded. Lebanon's economy has sustained enormous damage. This was said by the acting Permanent Representative of Lebanon with the United Nations Fakri Saghiyah speaking at the U.N. Security Council meeting that has begun here, convened at the request of the Lebanese Government in connection with the sharp escalation of Israel's aggressive actions.

The present developments confirm that the course of Israel and the policy of the United States in the region actually converge, said Jordan's chief Ambassador at the United Nations Hazim Nusaybah. He stressed that the United States of America, which authorised the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, must bear full responsibility for the consequences of these events.

This fresh escalation of the Israeli aggression has coincided--and this is not a fortuitous occurrence--with another trip to the Middle East by Philip Habib, the special envoy of the U.S. President, said the permanent observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the UN Zuhdi at-Tarazi. It is precisely at this very time that Israel has again dropped on innocent Lebanese and Palestinians U.S.-made bombs from U.S.-made planes. One gets the impression that the United States is dispatching Philip Habib to the region in order to cover up the reckless actions by Israel.

The Soviet delegate Richard Ovinnikov, speaking at the meeting, said that the Soviet Union advocates an immediate suppression of the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and prevention of a dangerous development of events in the Middle East. With arrogant insolence, the Israeli leaders claim the right to openly interfere in Lebanon's internal affairs, he said. The recent actions by the Israeli military in Lebanon constitute a qualitatively new stage in Israel's policy of international terrorism with regard to the Arab states.

We are of the view, the Soviet delegate said, that it is high time for stopping the perilous playing with fire in the Middle East at the expense of the Arab countries and peoples. One can no longer engage in feet-dragging in the matter of taking resolute actions in order to curb the aggressor.

Toward the close of the meeting, the President of the Security Council Ide Oumarou (Niger) read out a statement expressing a profound concern over the scale of human casualties and massive destruction in Lebanon. The statement stresses that the members of the Security Council appeal for a maximum of efforts so that peace and tranquility could be established in Lebanon and a just and lasting peace could be established in the Middle East as a whole.

'INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA' CRITICIZED

LD182154 Moscow TASS in English 2130 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] New York, 18 Jul, TASS--A shameful farce called "the international conference on Kampuchea" orchestrated by United States and China has come to an end here. The facts that the idea of the conference was categorically rejected by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and that almost a half of all UN member-countries, both socialist states and scores of the developing countries, refused to attend the conference, demonstrate the attitude of the world community to that unseemly scheme.

The final documents adopted by the conference confirm once again that its real initiators--Washington and Beijing--from the very beginning used the conference for a brazen and cynical interference in the internal affairs of People's Kampuchea covering their provocative actions with the UN flag. The "programme of measures" formulated in the documents has nothing in common with the purported goals of the conference: to find a road to a "political settlement" of the inexistent "Kampuchean problem". On the contrary, the delirious ideas such as the holding of the "elections under international control" discussed at the conference cannot be regarded in any other way than a violation of elementary rules of international law, the principle of the United Nations Charter and an impudent interference in the affairs of the sovereign and independent nation.

The speeches of Washington's and Beijing's delegates vividly demonstrated that these ideas conceal the attempts to impose upon the Kampuchean people, who had overthrown the regime of the Maoist henchman Pol Pot, a version of Pol Pot's clique, by knocking together a "common front" composed of Khmer emigre scum.

It should be noted that the representatives of the states, which yielded to the pressure on the part of Washington and Beijing and took part in the conference, used it first of all as a rostrum for condemning the blood-thirsty Pol Pot clique. Representatives of Indonesia, Sweden, Canada and many other countries said the return of the genocide Pol Pot clique to power in Kampuchea was out of the question.

As for the documents as a whole, the decisions adopted by the conference, according to the Permanent Representative of Vietnam to the United Nations Ha Van Lau, who spoke at a press conference in New York, are regarded by the countries of Indochina as illegal and invalid.

U.S. MILITARY, ECONOMIC AID TO PAKISTAN CRITICIZED

LD171930 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 17 Jul 81

[TASS news analyst Leonid Ponomarev: "Pakistan Hampering Political Settlement"]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul, TASS--Pakistani Foreign Minister Agha Shahi, who is currently attending the so-called "international conference on Kampuchea" in New York, has met there with U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig and discussed, according to a dispatch of the Pakistani APP news agency from Islamabad, the details of the five-year programme of military-economic aid to Pakistan by the USA. Within the framework, as is known, only military supplies to the Islamabad regime will total 3,000 million dollars. A considerable part of the U.S. weapons is designed for Afghan bandits, who entrenched themselves on Pakistan's territory and who are already now lavishly supplied with arms by the Islamabad leadership.

An exhibition of weapons captured from routed gangs of mercenaries opened the other day in the Afghan town of Jalalabad, the capital of Nangarhar Province. The exhibition is evidence of increasing interference from Pakistan in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Numerous documents and testimony by arrested bandits indicate that many mercenaries had undergone training at special camps in the areas of Pakistan bordering on Afghanistan under the leadership of U.S., Chinese and Egyptian instructors.

The present U.S. administration does not conceal its intention to use Pakistan as a tool in struggle against the Afghan revolution and is intensively supplying weapons to the military Ziaul Haq regime. Indeed the Washington-Islamabad military alliance, which is now taking shape, constitutes the main obstacle in the way of a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan.

It is not through increasing arms supplies to Pakistan that it is possible to ensure and strengthen peace in the region, resolve the so-called "Afghan problem", but through developing cooperation on the basis of non-interference in the home affairs, talks on all issues of concern for the sides. But the stand taken by the present Pakistan leadership is a serious obstacle in the way to such talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Afghan side has repeatedly proposed Islamabad to start immediately a dialogue in order to draw up a mutually acceptable agreement on a normalisation of relations. Acting in some periods independently with due regard for its national interests the Pakistani leadership showed interest and several times put forward the idea on a meeting between representatives of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Then under the pressure of the United States Ziaul Haq made a u-turn as the U.S. leaders do not wish a settlement of relations between Pakistan and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

By striking open alliance with the United States contrary to Pakistan's national interests and the security interests of the entire region General Ziaul Haq hopes in the first place to strengthen the regime of his personal power and hopes that he will succeed by means of American weapons not only in suppressing opposition at home but also imposing his conditions in the region. He is apparently not in the least concerned with the dangerous consequences stemming from the U.S. military penetration of southwest Asia and the turning of Pakistan into a bridgehead of U.S. aggressive policy in the region. The Washington leaders are clearly out to turn the general into a second As-Sadat and use him in the same way as they did the Egyptian president in the Middle East, solely in the interests of the USA.

Guided by the positions of strength policy the United States strives to resolve the problems of the region by means of arms supplies to Pakistan and interfernece in the internal affairs of other states.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan proposes a different way, which was spelled out in its statement of May 14 last year--the way of developing goodneighbourly relations, dialogue of equal and independent partners. There is no other sensible alternative.

Tashkent Comments on Aid

GF171322 [Editorial Report] Tashkent International Service in Uzbek at 1700 GMT on 15 July carries an unattributed commentary entitled: "The Military Relations Between the United States and Pakistan." The radio states that a delegation from the Pakistani Defense Ministry is currently visiting Washington to discuss the question of U.S. aid to Pakistan and adds: "These matters to be discussed in Washington are related to the supply of U.S. arms and (?military experts) to Pakistan within the framework of the agreement reached between the two countries recently providing for a $3 billion economic and military aid program to Pakistan over the next 5 years."

Claiming that the Pakistani Defense Ministry delegation will also endeavor to further strengthen relations between the United States and Pakistan, the radio states that Washington, following the developments in Iran, began to regard Pakistan as its gendarme in South and Southeast Asia and encouraged it to intensify its hostile attacks against the DRA. The radio adds: "Washington is attaching great importance to the Ziaul Haq regime because of the significance it has in the undeclared U.S. war against the DRA. The Afghan bandit rabble in Pakistan are being trained in this country, supplied with U.S., PRC and Egyptian arms and sent to the DRA to kill peaceful people and wage hostile activities against the DRA's legal government. It will be recalled that on the eve of the visit the Pakistan military representatives are currently paying to the United States, the U.S. (?administration) announced its decision to supply $10 million in aid to the bandit rabble working against the DRA. Washington's military and political relations with Pakistan are also aimed at other independent countries bordering Pakistan."

The radio claims that India is one of the objectives behind the decision to supply Pakistan with modern weapons and adds that the world press has been confirming this view by pointing to incidents between Pakistan and India in 1965 and 1971, when Islamabad used U.S. arms against India.

The radio concludes by quoting (?NEWSWEEK) as follows: "The United States has encouraged rearmament in this part of the world, particularly the acquisition of nuclear arms. It has also created a suitable atmosphere for military rivalry."

U.S. PLANNING TO REGROUP ARMED FORCES IN FRG

PM200807 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jul 81 p 3

[Correspondent N. Kurdyumov dispatch: "Routine Pentagon Provocation"]

[Text] Washington, 10 Jul--Pentagon strategists are taking steps toward the biggest post-war regrouping of American Army combat formations stationed on FRG territory. This, as it is not hard to note, promises a further intensification of the military danger and the aggravation of tension in the center of Europe. It is a case of plans to transfer the more than 200,000-strong army to newly equipped, enlarged bases closer to the borders of the socialist community countries within the framework of the so-called new American strategy of "forward defense."

To judge from press reports, the plan formulated by the Pentagon was submitted for Bonn's consideration back in November of last year by W. Stoessel, former U.S. ambassador to the FRG. It provides for Army brigades to be moved to the borders of East European countries in two stages. The Pentagon leadership regards this project as a "top priority" measure, and U.S. Defense Secretary C. Weinberger, so newspapers write, has already discussed the question of implementing it with Lt Gen Juergen Brandt, general inspector (commander) of the FRG Bundeswehr, during his visit to Washington and also with Chancellor H. Schmidt and Defense Minister H. Apel.

KOMMUNIST ARTICLE DISCUSSES HISTORY OF CCP

WA200808 Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 6 Jul 81

[Article published in KOMMUNIST No 9: "China's Communist Party: 60 Years Old"]

[Text] The Communist Party of China turns sixty this July. It has travelled a long and hard road, and its record is one of notable achievements and serious failures.

To review some of the basic trends in the Communist Party of China, bring out the causes behind its successes and setbacks, and show the lessons to be learned from its evolution is an urgent and important task before the entire international communist movement.

I.

The Communist Party of China was born at a time of the sweeping rise of the national liberation and working-class movement in Eastern countries under the direct impact of the Great October Revolution. One of the Party's founders, Li Dazhao had this to say about the significance the experience of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union had for China: "We must proudly hail the Russian Revolution as the light of a new world civilization. We must closely follow the tidings from new Russia which is being built on the principles of freedom and humanism. Only then will we be keeping pace with world progress."

Right from the outset, the Communist Party put itself at the head of the struggle for China's national and social liberation. It proved capable of becoming a national force in the vanguard of the revolution because it guided itself by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and expressed the aspirations and yearnings of the people.

Soviet Russia's appeal to the Chinese people to stand up united against imperialist oppression and develop a real friendly and equal relationship struck an answering chord. As the great revolutionary democrat Sun Yat-sen pointed out, Moscow prompted the genuine Chinese patriots to "tend towards the revolutionary policy of alliance with the USSR and alliance with the Communist Party."

Lenin gave tremendous attention to working out the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle of colonial nations. His speech before the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 was one of abiding significance. Summing up the experience of the world-wide revolutionary movement, he made the historic conclusion that "with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage." ("Collected Works," vol 31, p 244). At the same time Lenin pointed out that such a possibility could be translated into reality only in the context of a close alliance and mutual assistance between Eastern countries and Soviet Russia, for after the victory of the October Revolution the relations between states were determined "by the struggle waged by a small group of imperialist nations against the Soviet movement and the Soviet states headed by Soviet Russia." ("Collected Works," vol 31, p 241).

Speaking before the Congress of communist organizations of the peoples of the East, Lenin said: "In this respect you are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the Communists of the world: Relying upon the general theory and the practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism." ("Collected Works," vol 30, p 161).

Lenin and, after his death, the Comintern and the Bolshevik Party rendered all-round support and assistance to the CPC. They helped it work out the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle to meet the historical conditions of the semicolonial and semifeudal China. The Chinese Communists themselves have on many occasions underscored the inestimable value of the recommendations and advice contained in the material

produced by the Comintern and our Party, notably in the pronouncements by Soviet leaders, including Stalin, about the Chinese revolution. Those documents, proceeding from the positions of creative Marxism-Leninism, gave objective assessments of the character of the driving force and objectives of the Chinese revolution and of its specific features and fundamental targets at different stages, and, in particular, formulated the argument that what was going on in China was a struggle of an armed revolution against an armed counter-revolution, referred to the need to organise a Chinese Red Army and revolutionary bases in the countryside, and expressed the confidence that the people's democratic revolution would inevitably develop into a socialist revolution.

Lenin, the Comintern and the Soviet Communists gave practical support to the CPC in building the party itself, framing the underlying principles of its ideology and organization and bringing it into contact with the working class and other revolutionary forces. Under Lenin's direct instructions, Soviet Communists aided the early Marxist study groups in Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou, and shared in organising the First Congress of the CPC. The meetings of Comintern officials with the first propagandist of Marxism in China, Li Dazhao, and other foremost representatives of Chinese intellectuals played an important part in building the Party. In consequence, the CPC was shaping up as a working-class party. It was admitted to the Comintern in 1922.

The determined action by the working people of the town and countryside showed that the Chinese working class could become the vanguard of the revolution, and the peasantry--its reliable ally, with the CPC as their leader. Frightened by the mounting revolutionary movement, the right-wing sections of the national bourgeoisie cooperating with reactionary forces under Chiang Kaishek set about plotting a counter-revolutionary coup.

The Comintern and our Party, thoroughly studying the situation in China and maintaining close contact with CPC organizations in various regions, warned its leadership in good time about the looming danger. The present member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee Hu Qiaomu emphasized in his book "30 Years of the Communist Party of China," that if on the eve of the coup plotted by Chiang Kaishek, the CPC leadership had taken into account the advice of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Comintern, "the enemy would by no means have been able to defeat the revolution at a stroke." Following the counter-revolutionary coup in April 1927, the CPC fell victim to the cruellest ever reign of terror launched against hundreds of thousands of the best sons and daughters of the Chinese people, the cream of the Communist Party of China. The extermination of the core of the proletarian, Marxist elements of the Party had the effect of strengthening the positions of the petty bourgeois and nationalist elements in the CPC, with Mao Zedong at their head. They set out to gain control of the Chinese Red Army and the Communist Party.

The counter-revolutionary coup in China and Chiang Kaishekites' white terror brought in their train an unbridled anti-Soviet campaign and armed provocations on the Soviet-Chinese border. Imperialism was prodding China's right-wing forces towards straining Soviet-Chinese relations still further. The Kuomintang chieftains, having trampled upon Sun Yat-sen's behests, sought to curry favour with imperialists to win their support and assistance. Kuomintang men spuriously accused the Soviet Union of "red imperialism."

Those events entailed very grave consequences for the Chinese people because anti-communism inside the country and anti-Sovietism in the area of foreign policy brought about a drastic enfeeblement of the Chinese state and its international positions which the Japanese militarists lost no time in exploiting to launch their aggression against China. Only after the country found itself on the brink of national disaster, did the Kuomintang rulers agree to improve Soviet-Chinese relations and subsequently accepted the appeal from the Communist Party of China to set up a common anti-Japan front in keeping with the Comintern's strategy. A world-wide movement for the "utmost support of the Chinese revolution" was launched on the initiative of the Comintern and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

The expansion of the Japanese aggression against China brought into focus the issue of national salvation which caused the political forces inside the country to be re-grouped. Georgy Dimitrov, who was one of the Comintern leaders at the time, emphasised that the task before the Chinese Communists was to "rally the overwhelming majority of the Chinese

people against the Japanese invaders." The CPC representative in the Comintern Wang Ming played an important part in elaborating strategic and tactical questions on the common anti-Japan front in China. Basing itself on the material supplied by the Comintern and on Wang Ming's reports, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China worked out some specific proposals to be addressed to the Kuomintang which fetched a widespread response from all Chinese patriots. The Kuomintang had to negotiate with the Communist Party.

There was fierce infighting in the Communist Party of China and its leadership during that period. The petty-bourgeois and nationalist wing headed by Mao Zedong captured key positions in the leadership, violating the CPC Charter and relying on their followers in the army. Mao Zedong and his supporters, hard at work to implant a militarist scheme of things in the Party, snubbed the Comintern's repeated recommendations for putting Party life on a sound footing and holding the next CPC Congress (there were no congresses from 1928 to 1945).

From 1938 on the Maoists were striving to replace Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism by home-grown petty-bourgeois and nationalist concepts, choosing to deny the common Marxist international doctrine and dividing it instead into "general" and "particular" truths. Under the pretext of combining the general truths of Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice, the Maoists began to implant nationalism and preach the "sinicization" of Marxism. "Mao Zedong's ideas" were proclaimed to be "Chinese communism."

Taking advantage of the fact that in the early 1940's, the world communist movement and our Party were busy, wholly and entirely, organising resistance to Hitler Nazism and Japanese militarism, the petty-bourgeois and nationalist forces in the Communist Party of China drastically stepped up their activities. They rejected the Comintern's call for coordinated action with the Soviet Union in opposing the Japanese aggression in China. Moreover, the forces under CPC control wound up their combat operations against the Japanese invaders on Mao Zedong's initiative.

It was about at the same time that a campaign of physical and moral terror, misnamed "the movement for the rectification of style," was launched in 1941 against the Marxist and internationalist sections of the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong and with the most active participation of Kang Sheng who earned the shameful title of the "hangman of the Party." Its object was to push the Communist Party of China off the ideological and political platform of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism onto the platform of "Mao Zedong's ideas" and nationalism.

The Comintern and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), closely following as they did the state of things in the CPC, had more than once advised the Chinese leadership to do everything possible to strengthen the Party's unity. They pointed in that context to Kang Sheng's ominous role in the "movement for the rectification of style" and noted that all he was doing by claiming to purge the Party from hostile elements was to sow the seeds of mutual suspicion, incurring the strong resentment of the CPC rank-and-file and helping the enemy in its effort to erode the Party. However, Mao Zedong, far from heeding that advice, went on to make Kang Sheng his closest associate. Kang Sheng's role in destructing full-time party workers, in conducting subversive activities in the international communist movement and in provoking the deterioration and severance of relations between the CPC and the CPSU was extremely harmful in the subsequent period of CPC history as well. It is worthwhile recalling this fact of the history of the Communist Party of China and its leadership's attitude to the Comintern's advice at this juncture, above all, when the Chinese leaders are crediting themselves with having exposed Kang Sheng's crimes.

Mao Zedong's attention was called there and then to the politically erroneous course towards winding up the struggle against the Japanese invaders and abandoning the policy of a united national front as well as to the harm that was bound to be done by spreading nationalist and anti-Soviet sentiment among full-time party workers. Mao and his followers totally ignored that advice of comrades, prompted though it was by concern for the unity of the Communist Party of China and for its correct political line.

The defeat of the Japanese aggressors in Manchuria by the Soviet Army in cooperation with the Armed Forces of the Mongolian People's Republic did not only play the decisive part in ending the Second World War but signified a fundamental turning point in the development of the Chinese revolution. The liberation of Manchuria by the Soviet Army ensured the most important international conditions for the triumph of People's China in 1949 and for the transformation of the CPC into the ruling party. In liberated Manchuria, Chinese communists, led by such prominent CPC leaders as Gao Gang, created a dependable military-strategic bridgehead to operate as the centre of the Chinese revolutionary movement. Relying on the military, political and economic strength of the Manchurian base and on assistance from the Soviet Union, the Chinese people, with the Communist Party in the lead, put up a stout battle against the Kuomintang.

In recent years Mao Zedong, his supporters and subsequently heirs have been spreading the lie that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet Union as such "banned" the CPC from pressing for the victory of the Chinese revolution. The facts, however, disprove this spurious assertion. In 1946-1947 our Party recommended to the CPC leadership to take advantage, first and foremost, of the favourable circumstances for a concentration of forces, and for the creation, through diplomatic and political struggles, of the necessary premises for the strategic, decisive military offensive to liberate the whole land. However, in those days Mao Zedong, underestimating the enemy forces, showed "revolutionary impatience." His ill-considered rash acts provided the Chiang Kai-shekites with an excuse for starting the civil war. In 1947 the Kuomintang forces captured the town of Yanan which had been until then the mainstay of the Chinese revolution. Mao Zedong, who had "itched to fight" shortly before that, was overtaken by a defeatist mood that made him doubt the dependability and strength of the Manchurian bridgehead. Even with the 1949 victory in the offing, he was still mistrusting the strength of the Chinese working class and that of the entire revolutionary people.

Early in 1949 our Party brought a series of recommendations to the knowledge of the CPC leadership. These dealt with action to speed up the final victory over the anti-popular Kuomintang regime, accelerate the liberation of China's major industrial and cultural centers, intensify the work of attracting the working class in the cities to the CPC and admitting large numbers of foremost representatives of the proletariat to the Party, raising the role of the trade unions, democratic organizations, youth and women's federations, etc. The Soviet Union declared its solidarity with the struggle of the Chinese communists and stressed that the USSR was ready and willing to offer large-scale economic and military assistance to the Communist Party of China and to send Soviet specialists and advisers to China.

Contrary to the Maoist and imperialist falsifiers of the history of relations between the USSR and China, and to all their attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union an intention to "subjugate China," it was our country that took the initiative of establishing a genuinely equal and fraternal type of relationship with People's China. That was demonstrated, in particular, by the willingness expressed by the USSR even in those days to turn over the naval base of Port Arthur to the people's government of China and to withdraw the Soviet forces from it, without waiting for the peace treaty with Japan to be signed. But it was Mao Zedong who insisted on the Soviet forces being kept in Port Arthur. He declared that their presence would safeguard China from an attack by the United States and the Kuomintang. It may be recalled that Port Arthur was turned over to China in 1955, on the Soviet Union's initiative, and the Soviet forces were pulled out.

Relying on strong support from the whole of progressive humanity and large-scale assistance from the USSR, the People's Liberation Army of China (PLA) launched a frontwide offensive in 1948-1949. Its fighting men, communists, first and foremost, displayed mass heroism and self-sacrifice. The action of the PLA, led by the CPC, was broadly supported by the working people of the town and countryside. That was what assured it the final victory.

II.

The proclamation of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, crowned the long-lasting struggle of the Chinese people. At every stage of the national-democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution, the Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China, received support and assistance from the Soviet Union which was the first to announce its official recognition of the newborn state of the Chinese working people.

The signing of the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance in Moscow on February 14, 1950, was a major political act ensuring the consolidation of China's international positions and safeguarding it from imperialist intervention. In 1979, the Beijing leadership, to please international imperialism and the Japanese revenge-seekers, declared that they did not intend to prolong the treaty. They thus shouldered historical responsibility for terminating that treaty, which corresponded to the basic interests of the Chinese people, and to the cause of socialism in that country as well as international security.

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China, enacted in 1954, and the resolutions of Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China, held in September, 1956, opened up a prospect for China to advance with confidence towards socialism in close, mutually advantageous and equal cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China stressed the point that the Party guided itself by Marxism-Leninism in all of its activities. It reaffirmed the policy of progressively making socialist reforms in the town and countryside and eliminating the plurality of economic structures in China. Taking into account the Party's social composition and the fact that the absolute majority of its membership was made up of peasantry and small-holders in the town and countryside, with the working class accounting for less than 14 percent of the total, the Congress laid stress on the danger of petty bourgeois and nationalist elements taking the upper hand in the Party and on the need to put up most determined battle against great-Han chauvinism and nationalism. The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China was the major victory of the genuinely socialist and Marxist-Leninist forces in the party.

However, the nationalist forces, led by Mao Zedong, having re-grouped their ranks, launched an offensive against the resolutions of the Eighth CPC Congress. They put forward their own "general line" of carrying through a "Great Leap Forward" in the national economy and setting up "people's communes" in the countryside. That policy, disguised by pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering, had the effect of heavily damaging the incipient effort of building socialist society in China and caused severe hardship for the Chinese working people--hunger, unemployment and anarchy.

The Mao Zedong-headed CPC leadership, ignoring the documents of the 1957 and 1960 international meetings of Communist and Workers' parties, which had been signed by the Chinese leaders as well, started subversive activity within the international communist movement. They had their divisive tactics expounded in full in a document pompously called "The Proposal for the General Line of the International Communist Movement." It should be noted that that was an unprecedented case of so arrogant an ambition by the leadership of one party to lay down a "general line" of its own for the entire movement to follow, and to impose it on all other parties.

The CPSU and other fraternal parties were persistently working for normalising relations and restoring unity with the Communist Party of China. The Maoist leadership reacted to it by calling on the CPSU to abandon its own Programme and its foreign and home policies as formulated at the 20th and subsequent congresses. It declared on January 7, 1966: "In all the basic issues of our time, we hold diametrically opposite positions. Between ourselves and them (that is, the CPSU--Ed.) there is something that disunites us, and there is nothing that unites us, there is something that sets us against one another and nothing that we could have in common."

The treacherous substance of the policies of Mao Zedong and his supporters was particularly apparent at the time of the wanton aggression of US imperialism against Vietnam. The CPSU and other fraternal parties more than once offered to Beijing to undertake joint action to provide assistance to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the

American invaders. What was the reaction from the Chinese leadership to that offer? In March 1965, the CPC leadership rejected the suggestion for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of China, the USSR, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other socialist countries to come forward with a joint statement to expose the violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements by the United States. Beijing flatly refused to cooperate with the Soviet Union in concrete action to defend the Democratic Republic of Vietnam against piratic American air raids. The Chinese leadership also declined the proposal for summit meetings between representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the USSR and the People's Republic of China to consider resistance to American aggressors. The Maoists preemptorily declared: "Joint Action by the CPC and the CPSU is impossible." At the same time Beijing informed Washington that it would not come out in defence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam unless the U.S. invaded China. This was nothing short of encouragement for American imperialism to expand its aggression against Vietnam and a demonstration of Beijing's readiness to fight with the United States to the last Vietnamese.

By their splitting activities, fierce struggle against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties, resolute refusal to cooperate with them and normalise relations, Mao Zedong and his supporters ruptured ties with the international communist movement.

The anti-Leninist "general line" of Mao Zedong gave rise to a profound crisis in the party and the country. The further growth of this crisis could become disastrous for Mao Zedong's nationalist group which, to fortify its stand, started an all-out campaign for doing away with genuine Communists and supporters of socialism and friendship with the countries of the socialist community. This campaign led to the notorious "cultural revolution" which turned the life of China's working people into a nightmare.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union saw through the genuine counter-revolutionary essence of the "cultural revolution" when it only began. In March 1967, dealing with the causes and essence of the "cultural revolution", L. I. Brezhnev pointed out: "It is absolutely clear now that these events, which started under the banner of the 'cultural revolution' were generated by a profound crisis of the party and state leadership of Mao Zedong and his group. It is not accidental that their current political stances started after the bankruptcy of Mao Zedong's adventurous economic policy at home and after the failure of his sallies on the international arena where he presented claims to ideological and political hegemony in the world. The powers-that-be in Beijing did not draw a lesson from their setbacks. On the contrary, failures pushed them to new adventures at home and on the international stage."

During the "cultural revolution" the Maoists actually smashed the Communist Party of China and the organs of the people's democratic government, the trade unions and other public organisations, and the professional associations of intellectuals. In April 1969 the 9th CPC Congress legalised, as a matter of fact, the establishment of the military-bureaucratic Maoist dictatorship in the People's Republic of China. Two Congresses and two Plenary Meetings of the CPC Central Committee, which took place in 1973 and 1977, were, in reality trials of new "gangs" as they qualified the Maoist leaders who were defeated in the struggle for power in the Beijing ruling clique and who were made responsible for the political setbacks of Mao Zedong. Thus, the 10th CPC Congress in 1973 fully centered on exposing Lin Biao. The 11th CPC Congress in August 1977 boiled down to condemning the "gang of four" led by Jiang Quing, widow of Mao Zedong who died in September 1976. The CPC rules were revised again. The "ideas of Mao Zedong and anti-Sovietism were endorsed as the guiding ideology of the party and the state.

III.

What was the state of the CPC at its 60th anniversary? What was the situation in the party? According to official statistics, CPC numbers 38 million members. It is not accidental that data on its social composition have not been available for a quarter of a century. Although the Chinese leadership calls the CPC the "vanguard of the working class", workers make the absolute minority of its members. The Chinese press paints a very discouraging picture of the current situation in the party. It is reported that "considerable part of the members of the party have absolutely nothing in common with

the notion 'communist'". It is indicated that "over half the members of the party have no idea about a communist party and communism." Nearly 20 millions of party members are former activists of the "cultural revolution", who, according to Deng Xiaoping, would like to start another campaign of this kind. RENMIN RIBAO admitted that "the party has lost much of its prestige with the masses".

From what one hears from Chinese leaders and reads in the Beijing press, which now and then give dramatic appraisals of the situation in the party and the country, one may get the impression, that today's CPC leaders, while recognising the ideological and political crisis in the party, are really looking for ways to overcome it. However, such an opinion would be perfunctory and, essentially, wrong. The matter is that, remaining on the general positions of Maoism, the Chinese leaders clutch firmly to the Maoist guidelines on specific questions relating to party construction and ideological and political work. The CPC leaders say that the ideas of Mao Zedong are the "greatest asset he left us" and that they will continue to be "the guiding ideology of the party and the state" because, it is alleged, scrapping Maoism would "confuse the party and the people ideologically".

The growing crisis of Maoism, acute in-fighting in the ruling clique and disputes around the ideological and political legacy of Mao Zedong have led to a widespread "crisis of faith" and ideological mishmash in the country. This was used by the leadership's right-wing nationalist and pragmatic forces, led by Deng Xiaoping, which started another battle for power in the country. Under the pretext of "shifting the centre of gravity of the activity of the party and the entire people to carrying out modernization in four fields" (industry, agriculture, the military field, science and technology), they took the course towards encouraging capitalist trends and small commodity production and opened China to foreign investors.

In the field of foreign policy. Mao Zedong's successors fully adopted his line towards forging an alliance with imperialism on the common platform of hostility to peace and detente and national liberation movements, and the struggle against the world socialist community, against the Soviet Union in the first place. The report delivered in behalf of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress says that "the social and economic development of the PRC over the past twenty years is a painful lesson showing what any distortion of the principles and essence of socialism and home and foreign policy leads to."

At present changes are under way in China. Time will show what they actually mean. It will show to what extent the present Chinese leadership will use the Maoist legacy to its advantage and to what extent it will be able to overcome it. This is the crucial pivotal question and the character of the CPC's home and foreign policy and the future of the PRC depend on its solution. At present, however, facts show that modified Maoism with its "sinefied" Marxism, hegemonism and anti-Sovietism being its main components, remains the foundation of Beijing's policy.

A campaign for the restoration of Maoism is being stepped up in China now that the country is looking forward to the 6th Plenary Meeting of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Those who recently criticised Mao, defend him today. The discussion around the role of his personality and ideas has actually been stopped. Films and plays exposing Mao, are being removed from the screen and the stage. The "cultural revolution" is recognised ideologically correct. It is alleged that it was distorted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four". The propaganda of Maoist ideas as a sinefied "model" of socialism is being intensified.

Ignoring the instructive tragic lessons of the past, the CPC leadership says that only "the ideas of Mao can save the situation." The history of the CPC is falsified to ground this assertion. It is alleged that only Mao and his ideas always "showed us the correct way" and that without them the Chinese people "would have lost their way in darkness." Apparently Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders are not dismayed by revising their own recent pronouncements to the effect that Mao Zedong's erroneous line has caused untold suffering to the Chinese people and that because of the "cultural revolution," unleashed by Mao Zedong, the country has lost some twenty years in development.

The Chinese press admits that having become convinced of the failure of "Mao Zedong's ideas," some Party members demand that they be completely rejected. This people say, with every ground, that the CPC is gravely ill" and that "it has become degenerated and should be reformed." They see the cause behind the current crisis in the country in the party having "left the Marxist-Leninist road." They see, which is also correct, in Deng Xiaoping's line a "turn to the right" and "preparations for the restoration of capitalism." They say this despite the fact that Deng and his supporters, who try to put the party, the state apparatus and the army under their full control, declare that such views are "leftist" or "counter-revolutionary."

Admitting, at least partially mistakes Mao Zedong made in the closing period of his life, the CPC leadership is going out of its way to hush up the anti-Marxist, anti-socialist, and antipopular character of Mao Zedong's ideological-political legacy as a whole. More than that, they are working to shift Mao Zedong's mistakes to the party in general.

IV.

One of the main specifics of the development of the CPC and its history and political life is that since the mid-1920s the Party has witnessed an unceasing struggle between two trends, the Marxist-Leninist and internationalist, on the one hand, and the petty-bourgeois and nationalist, on the other.

When the CPC leadership was adhering to Marxist-Leninist teaching, creatively applying it to the specific conditions of their country and taking into consideration the aggregate experience of the international communist movement, the revolutionary process and the very development of the party were proceeding on a healthy basis and were marked by major victories. Thanks to that the Chinese revolution was triumphantly completed in 1949 and the People's Republic of China was proclaimed. The same can be said about the first post-1949 period which even the present Chinese leaders call the "most successful" one. When the CPC was firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism, leaning on the experience of real socialism and closely cooperating with socialist nations, China was successfully overcoming the influence of feudalism and imperialism, laying the foundations of the socialist system, conducting industrialisation, transforming the life of the multi-million-strong peasantry and overcoming centuries-old backwardness in culture, education, science and technology.

The CPC's experience confirmed the correctness of Marxist-Leninist conclusion on the possibility of transition to tackling the tasks of socialist revolution, following the solution of the problems of a bourgeois-democratic national revolution in a country such as China. Contrary to the allegations of the Maoists and other nationalists and opportunists, Lenin by no means ignored the specific features of individual countries and the specificities of the revolutionary process in such countries. On the contrary, Lenin demanded such an "application of the fundamental principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat), which will correctly modify these principles in certain particulars (Vol 31, p 92, Eng. Ed.). Following Karl Marx and Frederich Engels, Lenin firmly insisted on the internationalist character of the communist movement and the inadmissibility of replacing scientific socialism with opportunism under any pretext.

Due to China's economic backwardness and the underdevelopment of industry, the Chinese working class was rather small numerically and the peasantry and other strata of society constituted the bulk of the participants in the struggle. The striving of internal reaction, the ruling classes, feudals and the big bourgeoisie to firmly establish their domination with the backing of imperialism resulted in China's becoming a semicolony. That is why the national-democratic aspect, rather than the social one was in the forefront of the Chinese revolution, and this circumstance for its part turned nationalism into a major component of the ideology of the masses which participated in the liberation movement. Only the proletariat and its vanguard--the Communist Party, only Marxism-Leninism could make the Chinese revolution, its strategy and programme develop a constructively-creative character. This is what did happen with the powerful support of the world's first socialist nation--the Soviet Union, and the solidarity of the international communist and the entire revolutionary movement. This factor had an exceptionally big role to play in the Chinese revolution. It made up for the comparative weakness of the Chinese working class, and as a result the Communist Party of China could fulfill the role of the leader in the revolution and advance the task of socialist construction in the country.

Simultaneously, historical experience, above all, the harsh lessons of the past two decades, show that as soon as the CPC weakened internationalist ties, petty-bourgeois and nationalist forces gained the upper hand in it and distorted its aims, strategy and tactic.

These conclusions are of principled importance for the correct understanding of the CPC's history in general and its individual periods, in particular, as well as the current situation in the party. It is indicative that after the seizure of leadership in the CPC by the Maoists the party was unable to cope with one of the most important tasks--the education of the working people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and the merger of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory with the activities of the masses, above all, those of the working class. Marxism-Leninism was replaced by the ideology of Maoism.

Maoism is the ideological product of the petty-bourgeois pesudorevolutionary forces which had always been companions of the working class at the bourgeois-democratic stage of the Chinese revolution and which did their utmost to gain strong positions in that revolution by advancing their own nationalist ideology and poisoning the working class and the communist party with that ideology. The tragedy of the Chinese revolution and the Communist Party of China is that these forces managed to impose Maoism on the party and the working class.

It so happened that the Chinese working class proved unable to live up to the historical task of the proletariat which Lenin defined as follows in his time: "The historical task of the proletariat is to assimilate, re-school, re-educate all the elements of the old society that the latter bequeaths it in the shape of offshoots of the petty-bourgeoisie. But the proletariat must re-educate these newcomers and influence them, not be influenced by them." Lenin also stressed that the proletariat must put up a strong resistance to the attempts of petty-bourgeois ideologists to "foist their 'theories', their world outlook, i.e., their short-sighted views, on the workers' party..." (Vol 16, p 60, Eng. Ed.)

Lessons from the history of the Communist Party of China show the ugly form in which petty-bourgeois nationalist tendencies may be manifested if a resolute struggle is not waged for the purity of proletarian ideology. The tragedy which befell the lot of China and the CPC in the years of the notorious "cultural revolution" vividly shows where connivance at pseudo revolutionary-chauvinist sentiments leads. It is also worth noting that the grave consequences of a conciliatory attitude to the petty-bourgeois spirit and nationalism concern not China alone. Suffice it to recall Kampuchea in the years of the Pol Pot rule.

It goes without saying that the distortion of proletarian ideology, the onslaught of petty bourgeois and nationalistic forces and deviation from the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist construction in China were by no means fatally inevitable. The correctness of this conclusion is borne out by the experience of the first stage in the development of the People's Republic of China. At that time, the Chinese working class and its communist vanguard were capable of successfully resisting the pressure of premordial forces, heading non-proletarian sections of the population and leading them. All this, however, does not occur by itself but calls for the exact and a clear-cut class nature of the party's policy and exceptionally painstaking and patient work in the field of the education of the masses.

It goes without saying that the building of a socialist society in the People's Republic of China is an extremely complicated and difficult task. Lenin's conclusion to the effect that a "backward country can easily begin because its adversary has become rotten, because its bourgeoisie is not organised, but for it to continue demands of that country a hundred thousand times more circumspection, caution and endurance," are all the more true with regard to China than even with respect to Russia. (Vol 27, p 291, Eng. Ed.)

The lessons of the Communist Party of China of the period when the Maoists seized leadership in it show that it failed to summon precisely that "circumspection, caution and endurance." Mao Zedong condemned as "erroneous" the above-mentioned conclusion of Lenin and described the poverty and low educational level of a considerable part of the Chinese working masses as a "great advantage" allegedly making it possible to accomplish the revolution at an accelerated rate.

In spite of numerous difficulties of an objective and subjective order, China could successfully go ahead with the building of a new society. The generalisation of the lessons of the CPC's development prompts a natural question: wherein lies the chief reason why China disembarked from the road of scientific socialism and embarked upon the road of confrontation with the world socialist community and teaming up with imperialism and reaction? The answer to this question should be above all sought in the subjective factor, i.e., the fact that opportunists of a hegemonistic and social-militarist hue seized leadership in the CPC.

Soviet Communists and their comrades-in-arms and allies in other countries as well as the progressive public at large continue to believe that in the Communist Party of China which covered a harsh road and led the country to the victory of the revolution in exceptionally difficult conditions there have always been healthy forces adhering to correct, Marxist-Leninist positions and coming out in favour of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist nations.

The historical doom of Maoism as ideology and policy and China's return to the track of truly socialist development will be determined by the following factors:

-the numerical growth of the idustrial working class in China, the enhancement of its consciousness and educational level and of its influence on the peasant masses and petty-ownership elements in the town, and the intensification of the activities of proletarian elements which remain in the Communist Party of China;

-a change in the position and objective interests of the broad peasant masses because of the fact that the hegemonistic goals of Maoism and the barrack-coercive means of achieving them increasingly come into conflict with the requirements of the working people;

-an active impact of the successes and example of the socialist community nations and the world communist and working class movements on socio-economic, political and ideological processes in present-day China;

-the increased influence of the forces of socialism and peace on the entire international situation in the interests of detente, the build-up of mutual trust among countries and the prevention of a new worldwide military catastrophe.

So, there remains a real possibility for an alternative development of China. Only by following such a way of development China can put an end to its continued backwardness in the shortest possible time and build a prospering socialist society which would ensure the peaceful work and well-being of the Chinese people.

Delivering a report on the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, Leonid Brezhnev stressed: "The Chinese Communists have what to defend and what to fight for. The general line of the Chinese Communists is that of building socialism, the line charted by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1956. This is the line of planned balanced economic development and 'maximal satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements'. This is the line of 'developing a democratic life.' This, the Congress decisions stressed, is the line of 'eternal and unbreakable friendship with the great Soviet Union and all the People's Democracies'.

"We believe that the present events in China are a historically transient stage of her development. We believe that despite all difficulties the cause of socialism will triumph in the People's Republic of China."

In the days when the sixtieth anniversary of the Communist Party of China is being observed the Soviet people warmly honour the memory of thousands upon thousands of China's heroic sons and daughters and foreign fighters-internationalists who gave up their lives in the struggle for the liberation of China from the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and reaction and for its bright socialist future. They also honour the memory of the courageous Communists--Chinese patriots who fell victims of Maoist terror but to the end remained true to the great cause of communism, proletarian internationalism and Sino-Soviet friendship.

The Soviet people are convinced, stressed the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the CPSU, that a policy of peace would accord with the genuine aspirations of the Chinese people. The restoration of good-neighbourly relations between the USSR and China corresponds with the vital interests of the two nations and the interests of strengthening peace and socialism.

YAKOVLEV SCORES PRC HEGEMONISTIC PLANS IN ASIA

LD171640 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 17 Jul 81

[By TASS political news analyst Mikhail Yakovlev]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul, TASS--"We must necessarily get hold of Southeast Asia, including South Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore,"--thus spoke Mao Zedong in his past--and the facts confirm with renewed forced that this "instruction" of the "helmsman" continues into this very day to provide the basis for Beijing's aggressive and expansionist policy in Asia. Over two years ago, a half-million-strong Chinese Army invaded Vietnam. That adventure ended in failure but the Chinese leaders continue to threaten to teach the sovereign Socialist Republic of Vietnam a "new lesson." They openly supply the Pol Pot gangs with weapons and military gear, and they do not give up attempts to knock together some kind of "united front" to fight against the lawful Government of Kampuchea so as to reimpose on the Kampuchean people the pro-Beijing regime of genocide. In the maps published in China in 1979 countries of Indochina, Thailand, Malaysia and Burma are still marked as belonging to China.

In 1962, the Beijing hegemonists illegally conquered tens of thousands of square kilometers of Indian territory, and go out of their way to demonstrate their readiness to proclaim as "independent states" India's northeastern states in which, with outside support, there actively operate gangs of separatists. China's policy of territorial aggrandizement, stresses the influential Indian newspaper AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, has not only continued but has also acquired, with the new leadership in power, an even more aggressive and dangerous nature. China strong militarily constitutes a threat to all the countries of Southeast and southwest Asia around it, writes the Japanese newspaper MAINICHI. Observers note that the substance of the decisions adopted by the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (June 1981) consists in laying down the ideas of Mao Zedong as the guiding ideas for the party, as well as of the pro-imperialist course of Beijing on the international arena.

Against this backdrop, it is more than evident how reckless and dangerous are the plans and actions of those circles in the West, above all in the United States, which are now embarking on "re-arming" Beijing, labouring under the delusion that they will thus get the opportunity for channeling its expansionism mainly northward. As to the Soviet Union, it will be able--in all cases and in any situation to take due care to assure its own security and the security of its allies and friends. The American and other Western weapons now in Chinese hands will be directed above all against relatively small neighbouring states among which, incidentally there are also American allies, and not only against them. "The great helsman" whose hegemonist foreign policy behests were reaffirmed at the 6th Plenum of the CCP Central Committee divulged this: "A certain number of years will pass, and we shall without fail build a major empire and be prepared for landings in Japan, in the Philippines, in San Francisco..."

The big-power, expansionist aspirations of the Chinese hegemonists are a threat to all, and this ought not to be forgotten by those who are so recklessly feeding the ambitions of these hegemonists, encouraging and supporting their militarist ambitions.

SOVIET LEADERS GREET MONGOLIAN COUNTERPARTS

Brezhnev, Tikhonov Message

PM171550 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jul 81 p 1

[Greetings message from L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and N.A. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Yu. Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, and J Batmonh, chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers, on the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian revolution]

[Text] To Comrade Yu. Tsedenbal, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium

Comrade J. Batmonh, chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers

Dear comrades!

On the portentous day of the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution we send you, Mongolian communists and all citizens of the Mongolian People's Republic warm greetings and cordial congratulations.

Mongolia's working people and their vanguard--the MPRP--take rightful pride in what has been done over the past six decades. Profound social transformations have been implemented in the republic, and the confident advance of what was quite recently a backward feudal country along the path to socialism has been ensured. The creation and development of a multisector economy, the advance of national culture and education, the enhancement of the people's well-being--all this is the natural result of the struggle and labor of Mongolia's workers, herdsmen and intelligentsia and the real fruit of the party's Marxist-Leninist policy.

The Mongolian people are greeting their revolution's anniversary in their creative prime, inspired by the broad program of creative work adopted by the 18th MPRP Congress. This program is an important link in the historic chain connecting the heroic achievements of the 1921 revolutionaries under the leadership of D. Sukhe-bator with the impressive achievements of the creators of present-day Mongolia and with the inspiring prospects of its further progress.

The experience of Mongolia's noncapitalist development arouses lively interest among the liberated countries which have embarked on the path of the fundamental restructuring of society. This is graphic evidence of the international significance of the contribution of the MPRP and the Mongolian working people to the theory and practice of socialism.

The 60-year path of People's Mongolia is illumined by the ideas of proletarian internationalism. By building socialism in close cooperation with the socialist community countries, Mongolia is helping to strengthen the fraternal countries' unity and cohesion, to develop socialist economic integration, actively counter the forces of imperialism and hegemonism and implement a positive policy of consolidating peace and international security.

Our peoples' friendship, alliance and cooperation have been strengthening continuously all these years. They have reliably served and now serve the cause of defending both countries' state interests and the cause of peace and socialism in the Far East and in Asia. Following the Leninist course reaffirmed by the 26th CPSU Congress, the Soviet people will continue to do everything to make Soviet-Mongolian cooperation still more effective.

We wish you, dear comrades, great new successes in fulfilling the 18th MPRP Congress decisions and in the struggle for the further flowering of socialist Mongolia.

[Signed] L. Brezhnev, N. Tikhonov

Ustinov Greets Abhia

PM171619 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jul 81 p 1

[Greetings message from Marshal of the Soviet Union P. Ustinov, USSR defense minister, to Col Gen J. Abhia, Mongolian defense minister, on 60th anniversary of the Mongolian revolution]

[Text] To Col Gen Comrade J. Abhia, minister of defense of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR]

Esteemed comrade minister!

On behalf of the Soviet Union Armed Forces and myself personally I extend fraternal combat greetings and cordial congratulations to you and all Mongolian servicemen on the 60th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution.

Since the victorious anti-imperialist and antifeudal revolution of 1921 the Mongolian people, under the leadership of their militant vanguard--the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP]--have traveled a glorious path, have carried through radical socioeconomic transformations and are now successfully implementing a program of socialist building. We note with satisfaction that the friendly relations between the Soviet and Mongolian peoples and the combat cooperation between their armed forces are increasing and strengthening by the year.

On the day of the portentous anniversary of the fraternal Mongolian people's national holiday I wish you, comrade minister, and all the personnel of the Mongolian People's Army further great successes in strengthening the MPR's defense capability and in fulfilling the tasks set by the 18th MPRP Congress.

Communist greetings,

[Signed] Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense

SHIP CAPTAIN NOTES GROWING RELATIONS WITH DPRK

SK170958 Moscow in Korean to Korea 0930 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Article from feature report on Primorskiy Kray; talk by (Nikolay Trukhnov), captain of Soviet cargo ship--recorded, in Russian fading into Korean translation]

[Summary] "The freighter (Dnepropetrovsk) has been shipping cargo from Najin to Ho Chi Minh City port for 6 months. Soon after an event commemorating the 101st birthday of Lenin, we transported slate. Thanks to Korean workers' timely work at the port, we finished loading on time and embarked. Entering Ho Chi Minh City port, we began to unload." We stayed at the port for 10 days to unload cargo and receive maintenance service.

We also visited Hiroshima, Japan, and witnessed the horrible aftermath of the explosion of an atomic bomb. While visiting a Kampuchean port we witnessed a normal and peaceful life and the aftermath of atrocities by the Pol Pot clique and its followers.

"We are not engaged in navigation between Najin and Ho Chi Minh City ports. The crew members of my ship held a meeting to support the Korean people's just struggle to achieve the peaceful reunification of their country. We have always been warmly welcomed by Korean friends in Najin." For our Korean friends, we recently arranged a film show on the war period from 1940 to 1945. We believe that relations with our Korean friends will develop in the future, too. My crew members will do their best to develop these relations.

BREZHNEV MEETING WITH KARMAL IN CRIMEA REPORTED

LD171624 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul, TASS--A meeting was held in the Crimea today between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Leonid Brezhnev and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan Babrak Karmal, who arrived for a holiday in the Soviet Union.

Leonid Brezhnev spoke on the present international situation, which has considerably worsened recently as a result of actions of the imperialist circles, above all of the USA. These circles are purusing an adventurist policy of undermining detente, whipping up militaristic hysteria and building-up the arms race. Leonid Brezhnev touched in particular upon the situation in the Persian Gulf area and stressed the realistic and vital character of the Soviet Union's proposals on a normalisation of the situation in that area, which were put forward at the 26th Congress of the CPSU.

Babrak Karmal spoke on the development of the April revolution in Afghanistan, on the great significance of the National Patriotic Front, which has been recently formed in the country, on the successes of the Afghan Armed Forces in the struggle against bandit detachments, which are sent from the outside, on the strengthening of the international positions of the independent Afghan state. The Afghan people is determined to give a rebuff to any attempts at imposing the old feudal system on it and eliminating the gains of the revolution.

Leonid Brezhnev and Babrak Karmal examined the international aspects of the situation around Afghanistan. They pointed out that as a result of interference of a number of imperialist states, hegemonistic forces and their allies the cause of political settlement of problems in connection with Afghanistan has not yet been placed on a practical basis. Meanwhile a settlement is possible and a good basis for it could be the known proposals of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Leonid Brezhnev and Babrak Karmal expressed gratification with the continuing strengthening of friendship, cooperation and internationalist solidarity of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries, in the interests of strengthening peace in the region and international security in general.

The meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Babrak Karmal proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and full mutual understanding.

Comment on Karmal Visit

LD190102 Moscow World Service in English 1400 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, President Leonid Brezhnev, had a meeting in the Crimea on 17 July with the leader of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, Babrak Karmal, who arrived in the Soviet Union for a holiday. The two leaders discussed international aspects of the situation around Afghanistan. They pointed out that owing to the interference of imperialist countries, hegemonistic groups and their allies the cause of a political solution of the problems connected with Afghanistan was not yet put on a practical basis.

Meanwhile, such a solution was possible. The well-known proposals of the Soviet Union and of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan could provide a good basis for it. In a goodwill bid the Government of Afghanistan called six times on the authorities of Pakistan and Iran to sit at the negotiations table.

Originally Islamabad showed some interest in Afghanistan's proposals but then yielded to the crude pressure of Washington and Beijing and dissociated itself even from its own proposals. The Ziaul Haq government has actually turned the country into an anti-Afghan stronghold. There is no point in proving that this policy is incongruous with Pakistan's non-alignment status.

Pakistan's present stand has actually been bought by Washington. In the next 5 years Pakistan is due to receive over $3 billion worth of military aid from the United States. A considerable part of the sum will go for the training and arming of the mercenaries. The American Government spares no money to keep the undeclared war against Afghanistan going. It's been officially announced in Washington that the allocations for the purpose will reach $93 million this year, that is, will double as against the previous year.

In the light of these facts the nature of the proposals made by the European Community's council for settling the situation around Afghanistan becomes particularly revealing. These proposals are nothing else but an attempt at undisguised interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan. The council proposes that the situation around Afghanistan should be discussed without Afghanistan. This proposal is plainly unrealistic, as the Afghan Government will never accept it.

The Western propaganda clamors that the presence of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan is a stumbling block in the way of the solution of the situation in the region. This is sheer hypocrisy. Both the Afghan and Soviet Governments declared on many occasions that these troops will be withdrawn as soon as the external armed interference in the affairs of Afghanistan stops and its nonresumption is guaranteed. Experience shows that the organizers and inspirers of the undeclared war bank on its continuation. This is what makes them turn a deaf ear on the proposals of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.

AFGHAN INFORMATION MINISTER SARBOLAND INTERVIEWED

LD171042 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] For many months now, practically since the April revolution of 1978 in Afghanistan, the Western news media made every effort to distort the essence of Soviet-Afghan relations and to depict in dark colors this country's fraternal, disinterested help to the Afghan people in upholding their independence and building a new society. All kinds of people are taking part in the discussion of what is called the Afghan problem in the West; from former Afghan feudals, whom the April revolution deprived of the possibility to oppress the people to some officials. One noticeable omission is the Afghan people, who accomplished the revolution and now have to defend it. At the same time, the mass media in the West play down or distort the many constructive proposals of the Afghan Government to adjust the situation in the region. The stand of the Peoples' Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government on the issue of ensuring peace in the region has been discussed at an interview given to a Radio Moscow correspondent by the Afghan deputy premier and minister of information and culture, 'Abdol Majid Sarboland. Here are extracts.

[Begin recording] [Sarboland] I would like to put it clearly that we, the people of Afghanistan, the Peoples' Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, want peace and we have declared it many times. (?That is, we put it in our resolution of 14 May last year clearly that we are peace-loving people. But let me tell it clearly that those forces in the world who are against peace, who are toward arms race, who doesn't want to seek peace and the progress of the people, toiling people of the world, working people of the world, they are clear to everybody. The United States imperialism and the Chinese hegemonism with the reactionary forces (?encircle us all over the world), especially in our region. These are the forces who are against peace, because in peace the prosperity of the people is (?protected) and imperialism, reaction and hegemonism are the forces which their existence is in the poverty of the people [as heard]. So, to all mankind now it is clear that who are the peace lovers and who are against the peace.

The socialist countries, at the top of the Soviet Union, and all nations and revolutionary movements (?and with the work) and the toiling people loves and wants peace because it is the only way to prosperity, to work and to a better society. In Afghanistan also, these reactionary, imperialistic and hegemonistic forces are trying to stop the revolution. But today, and we see the deeds in Afghanistan very clearly, Pakistan is now a springboard of imperialist and hegemonistic forces against the revolution of Afghanistan, and they send bandits from Pakistani soil, invade Afghanistan, terrorizing, and want to stop the revolution process.

[Question] The latest developments have made it clear that certain groups in Afghanistan and outside it are trying to turn back the march of events in the country with the help of arms and money from the United States, China, Pakistan and Egypt.

[Answer] It is clear the everybody that the revolution in Afghanistan is irreversible. Even, I'm sure that the U.S. imperialism and hegemonistic forces of China, the reactionaries, know that the April revolution in Afghanistan, especially after the starting of its revolution phase, has become irreversible; and that is why, especially after the evolutionary phase of the April revolution, the enemies were active too much in Afghanistan. But when the uniting of the party and the uniting of the people and the party was [words indistinct] it is clear and we are sure that the course of the revolution has become irreversible. Do you know (?better) that the first congress of the National Fatherland Front took place in Kabul nearly 1 and 1/2 months before: All people, patriotic people, forces of Afghanistan, circles [as heard] took part in it. Nine hundred and forty representatives from all social organizations--from the workers, from the peasants and from the circles--they took part in this congress. And it means that the unity between the people and the party is strengthened and with the unity of the party and the people every problem and every difficulty will be solved. We are sure of that.

[Question] Recently, the European Community Commission put forward proposals to settle the situation over Afghanistan. Judging from reports, its proposals are basically unrealistic and are aimed at underming the Afghan revolution.

[Answer] Our enemies are trying from one side to put some, the so-called peace programs as the Common Market have put it [as heard]; and from another side, in the meantime, they are trying to give money and weapons to the bandits. So we don't know that, which intention of the imperialistic forces and the reactionary forces is true. If it belongs to us, I must put it clear in the [word indistinct]. We are not sure that the imperialistic and the reactionary forces will accept any peace program because it is not in their benefit, it is against their benefit. So, the Common Market resolution, which was forwarded from England in Britain from the side of Britain; I don't know how could they prove it when Mrs Thatcher is supporting fully the aggressive policy of the Reagan administration, and from another side her government wants to put a peace proposal, it is very difficult to accept.

[Question] European Community Commission proposed convening a conference on Afghanistan without the participation of the Afghan Government. This proposal, which constitutes open interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state, has been criticized even in many Western countries.

[Answer] The Afghan problem, so-called problem, is not of an international [word indistinct], it is of our own national problem which we have the right to solve it and our legal government and party is the only one who can suggest about our own problems. If the Common Market circles, especially Mrs Thatcher's representatives, want to solve this problem in an international level, we are against it because we, the Afghan people, are the only one who could solve our own problems.

Of course we had put many peaceful proposals to our neighbors, especially Pakistan, to have straightforward peace talks and we can solve all the problems which we have between our two countries, but the Pakistan [words indistinct] hasn't given any reply yet, till now. So, it is up to the Pakistan Government to decide about the question. If it belongs to us we had put everything very clearly. And the activities from the side of Pakistan, the bandits and the terrorists which are sent from Pakistan to Afghanistan for terrorist action and they try to make afraid the people of Afghanistan. It is just the history had proved it that it is not bad deeds which could be very long played; this play is very short; I'm sure of that. [sentence as heard]. And now we are busy with our evolutionary work in Afghanistan and especially the congress of the National Fatherland Front was very important for us and it was very successful and all the social forces, the national democratic forces took part in it and a very active part and now we are sure that with the unity with the work, united work, of the people and the party we will gain the aims of the revolution, definitely. (?Thank you). [end recording]

FURTHER REPORT ON RAO-GROMYKO TALKS IN MOSCOW

BK161646 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] India has assured the Soviet Union that normalization of its relations with China will not be achieved at the cost of its friendship with other countries. The assurance was conveyed during the two rounds of talks External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao had with his Soviet counterpart in Moscow today. He is understood to have made it clear India wants to settle the unresolved questions with Beijing but it will neither prefer to separate the border issue nor will it like to shelve the matter indefinitely. India, he said, is taking an integrated approach to the question of normalization of relations with China.

Rao also is reported to have acquainted Gromyko with India's views on various developments in the subcontinent and gave an assessment of his recent visit to Islamabad and a visit to India by Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua.

Giving an account of the deliberations of the nonaligned nations meet in New Delhi, Rao said that to a certain extent the conference was able to contribute toward defusing difficult situations in some parts of the world.

The visiting minister apprised his counterpart about the efforts made by the nonaligned group to end the Iran-Iraq conflict. He regretted that the general consensus arrived on Kampuchea in the New Delhi meet was watered down by the ASEAN countries by shifting their stand and the matter was taken over to New York.

On Pakistan, Narasimha Rao is reported to have told Gromyko that India's consistent efforts to normalize its relations with its neighbor. [as heard].

Earlier, on his arrival in Moscow this morning, Narasimha Rao was given a warm welcome by Gromyko.

FURTHER COVERAGE OF PZPR EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS

Olenichev Notes Speeches

LD171838 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] The debate at the special extraordinary PZPR congress of the Polish United Workers' Party has shown that the Polish communists take a very responsible stand in trying to find solutions of the country's key problems. Our correspondent in Warsaw, Viktor Olenichev, has more to say about it.

Many delegates addressing the congress have emphasized that the party of the Polish communists must be a party for political struggle against counterrevolution and anarchy and for national salvation. In the economic field, much attention has been paid to what can and must be done to restore a normal working rhythm in industry. In this context, deep appreciation was expressed of the assistance coming from the Soviet Union. The party committee secretary of the Lenin steel making plant, Kazimierz Minur, said in particular that his plant was functioning normally and with no down time only thanks to the timely deliveries of Soviet oil and coal. The speech by the head of the Soviet Communist Party delegation, Viktor Grishin, provoked a lively response.

Here is what a miner from industrial Silesia, Josef Gladysz, said: I belong to the older generation. People of my age know from first hand experience how much the Soviet Union has done for us. It brought us freedom and helped us in difficult post war years. And, speaking of today, it would be hard to overestimate what the Soviet people are doing for us Poles now. Miners know all the contents of the letter sent by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. That document expresses deep concern for the future of socialism in Poland. It points out the dangers threatening our country and party. Our congress, Jozef Gladysz continued, should reply to this concern by working out a concrete program of action. And in conclusion, the Polish miner urged the United Workers' Party to pursue a consistent policy, to be firm and not to give in on matters of principle.

Central Committee Elections

LD181615 Moscow TASS in English 1549 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul, TASS--Yesterday evening the results of the elections of the party's steering bodies were announced at a plenary meeting of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. 200 full and 70 alternate members of the Central Committee, 70 members of the Central Auditing Commission and 90 members of the Central Party Control Commission were elected by secret ballot.

Today the plenary meeting of the newly elected PUWP Central Committee discussed candidates to the post of first secretary of the Central Committee.

Sixteen problem commissions continue their work. According to the press service of the congress, they concentrate attention on the ideological and organizational consolidation of the party, on strengthening the party's links with the masses and on raising the prestige of party organizations.

Keen discussions in the course of which controversial views and opinions are voiced go on about the problems related to overcoming the crisis which is gripping Poland today. The delegates show particular concern for the situation in the economy, where the main indicators in construction, industry and agriculture have markedly decreased.

The speakers stressed that, along with improving planning and generally bettering the management of the national economy, it is necessary to foster initiative at factories and enterprises and to stricter control the meeting of production targets. The primary condition for improving the economic situation, however, is the day to day strenuous and conscientious work, strict and conscious discipline and a high sense of organization.

Saturday's Session Reported

LD181954 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Special correspondent Aleksandr Kaverznev report from Warsaw]

[Text] In the first part of the day the delegates of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress completed its work in the working commissions. In previous reports I dealt with the chief trends of the debates. I merely wish to add that at the plenary session yesterday evening and in the commissions today, the party's desire to exert an in-depth practical influence on the life of Polish society emerged even more distinctly. Many delegates are insisting on the adoption of decisions which would oblige party members to work much more actively in the trade unions, in the people's councils and in the various organs of self-management: workers', rural, cooperative and at places of residence. A resolute rebuff must be given to anarcho-syndicalist tendencies. It is proposed that more confidence be placed in young people (?in the process of) solving large-scale social and economic problems in the hope that young people will respond by placing similar confidence in the party.

And there is another theme being distinctly heard at the congress: Decisions must be fulfilled more consistently. Delegates are stressing that it is not enough to inscribe in the charter that every party member is obliged to fulfill decisions, but also effective methods must be created for implementing them. It is necessary to check and monitor one another and to hold one another responsible more frequently.

We spoke about this subject today with the well-known Warsaw builder, Albin Siwak, a member of the newly-elected party Central Committee. Comrade Siwak believes that each Central Committee plenum is dutybound to check the manner in which the decisions of the preceding one are being implemented. At [passage indistinct] good resolutions were adopted but, for instance, the hostile antisocialist propaganda in the shape of illegal leaflets and posters was not stopped completely. In the opinion of Albin Siwak, the new Central Committee will be more decisive as it includes more active workers, peasants and representatives of the working intelligentsia than ever before.

On Sunday the proceedings will continue. The new party charter, a resolution and other congress documents are to be adopted.

First Secretary Nominations

LD181448 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jul, TASS--Today the first plenary meeting of the newly elected Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party ended here. The participants in it nominated two candidates, Stanislaw Kania and Kazimierz Barcikowski, for the post of first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee.

Kania Election Reported

LD182032 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2025 GMT 18 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Jul (TASS)--On the night of 18 July the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress elected Stanislaw Kania first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Brezhnev Congratulates Kania

LD190824 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul, TASS--The general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Brezhnev, today sent the following telegram to Comrade Stanislaw Kania, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party:

"Esteemed Comrade Kania!

"I congratulate you on your being reelected to the post of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

"I am confident that fraternal friendship linking the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Polish United Workers' Party will continue to grow stronger on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism."

Sunday Session Reported

LD191808 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw: At the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, discussion has been continuing on the party Central Committee report.

Today at the plenary meeting, a report on the economic situation in the country and on government measures to stabilize the situation was delivered by Jaruzelski, the chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers.

He described the public and economic situation in the country as critical and called the prevention of further curtailment of industrial and agricultural production an urgent task. The speaker reported that a program has been formulated for overcoming the crisis and for improving things in the country's national economy and that a plan of comprehensive economic reform has also been formulated.

He noted the exceptional significance of the aid offered to Poland primarily by the Soviet Union and by other socialist countries for solving its urgent problems.

An account of Jaruzelski's report will be published in the next issue of PRAVDA.

During the second half of the day a plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was held. At the plenum questions concerning elections for the new membership of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat were discussed.

Grishin at Friendship Meeting

LD172202 Moscow in Hungarian to Hungary 1900 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress is in progress. Greetings have been addressed to the Polish communists by the delegations of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries present at the congress. In their speeches the leaders of these delegations have expressed support for the PZPR's struggle against the enemies of socialism and the onslaught of internal and external counterrevolution.

Debates at the congress continue on the report of the PZPR Central Committee and the draft final documents. The delegates have discussed the report of the special commission set up by the decision of the 10th plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee to establish personal responsibility for the present crisis in the country--the Grabski commission. They have endorsed the results of the commission's work and voted for expelling from the party a group of former PZPR leaders.

Work has been continued today to form the steering organs of the party, and the commissions reviewing the draft documents of the congress have met in session.

The CPSU delegation, led by Viktor Grishin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, today met the activists of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. Viktor Grishin conveyed to every member of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society the cordial greetings of the Soviet people.

During the present days we have been witnessing how the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress has been analyzing the causes which have brought the country to the present difficult situation, how it is elaborating the program for overcoming the crisis and strengthening people's power. In the report of the PZPR Central Committee and in the delegates' contributions an important place is occupied by the question of socialist Poland's international orientation. The communists are replying to this with full determination that Poland can only (?develop) as a sovereign socialist state within the family of the socialist countries and the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. There is no other way. This is also the unchanged stand of our party, Viktor Grishin stressed.

Continuing, he spoke in detail of the development of the all-round cooperation linking the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic. This applies, of course, first of all to economic cooperation. It is well known that in the present period the Soviet Union is meeting Poland's every import requirement regarding natural gas and various timber products. The Soviet Union guarantees more than three-quarters of its oil requirements, and this is about the proportion concerning iron ore supplies too. Two-thirds of cotton imports also come from the Soviet Union.

Viktor Grishin said that our economic relations are based on long-term plans. It is no secret, the head of the Soviet delegation stressed, that the enemies of socialism are using the Polish crisis also for fomenting anti-Soviet feelings. For Poland's attention, in these difficult days, foreign radio stations are pouring out a sordid flood of lies, misinformation and slander. Particularly in the vanguard in this respect are such virulent imperialist propaganda centers as Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. Imperialist services, making use of various illegal methods, are taking into Poland antisocialist, anti-Soviet illegal propaganda material also designed to arouse nationalistic sentiments. The overwhelming majority of the Polish people are faithful to the idea of socialism and reject anti-Sovietism. But although we understand this it does not mean that we can belittle the dangerous activities opposing Soviet-Polish friendship and the joint aims of our peoples.

In conclusion, Viktor Grishin voiced his conviction that those who are really faithful to the idea of Soviet-Polish friendship are conscientiously carrying the torch of our friendship through every difficulty.

CSSR'S HUSAK ARRIVES IN USSR 17 JULY FOR HOLIDAY

LD171332 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul, TASS--General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, President Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia has arrived for a holiday in the Soviet Union today at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

KORNILOV SCORES EEC 'INITIATIVE' ON AFGHANISTAN

LD181238 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 18 Jul 81

[TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov: "Lord Carrington's Empty Sack"]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Jul, TASS--Shah Mohammad Dost, foreign minister of Afghanistan, characterized the so-called "initiative" of a group of Western countries on convening a "conference" to discuss Afghanistan's affairs behind the back of the government of that soverign country as overt intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. This "initiative" was also characterized with all certainty as unrealistic and unacceptable in the course of the talk of the Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko with Habib Mangal, Afghanistan's ambassador to the USSR, in Moscow on July 10. At the same time both Moscow and Kabul strongly emphasize that the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan is possible and that a good basis could be provided for it by the well-known proposals of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

It seems that the matter is clear. But here are reports of Western news agencies from Brussels showing that the EEC Council of Ministers, having heard a "report" of the British foreign secretary, Lord Carrington, announced that the West intends to continue mulling and pressing the above "initiative" and even plans to discuss it at the forthcoming meeting of the "big seven" in Ottawa.

What does all this mean? Are those forces in the West which are insistently bandying about their obviously unsound proposals still unaware that they, to put it blandly, are whipping a dead horse because their proposals have been resolutely rejected by the principal interested party, the Government of Afghanistan? Is the EEC still unaware of the unequivocal and explicit attitude of the friends and allies of Afghanistan to this question?

This can hardly be so. To all appearances, the fact is that those forces in the West which have worked out the infamous "initiative" and continue running around with it have never set themselves the task of advancing the settlement of the Afghan problem. Their purpose is different, namely, to publicize the patently inadmissible proposals in order to distract public attention from the aggressive activities of the U.S., which has unleashed and continues stepping up the undeclared war against sovereign Afghanistan, to aggravate the situation and at the same time to exploit the "settlement" talk in order to launch another round of slanderous attacks on the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the USSR, hypocritically accusing them of "rigidity," "intransigence," and other mortal sins.

Today this is being done in Brussels, and tomorrow, to all appearances, Ottawa will see similar unseemly politicking. But what the result will be? [as received] No result at all because the unseemly manoeuvres of the opponents of the settlement cannot be fobbed off as a "constructive move" or turned into a "positive initiative." As the well-known British proverb has it, an empty sack will not stand upright...

FINNISH AIR FORCE CHIEF CONCLUDES USSR VISIT

PM160934 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jul 81 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] On 11 July Lt Gen R. Merio, commander of the Finnish Air Force, left Moscow for home following an official visit to the Soviet Union. The Finnish visitor was seen off by Chief Marshal of Aviation P.S. Kutakhov, commander in chief of the air force and USSR deputy minister of defense, and other Soviet generals and officers. The sendoff party included Col K.I. Markkula, military air and naval attache at the Finnish Embassy in the USSR.

COMMENT, REPORTS ON ISRAELI AGGRESSION IN LEBANON

U.S. Support Scored

LD172054 Moscow in Arabic to the Arab World 1530 GMT 17 Jul 81

[From the "Window on the Arab World" program]

[Text] Israeli aircraft have launched four air raids in 1 week against Lebanese residential areas and Palestinian refugee camps. Eyewitnesses say such raids have not been launched since 1973. Scores of people were killed and hundreds wounded. The victims included many children. The raids caused heavy material losses to Lebanon and destroyed five bridges linking southern and northern Lebanon.

It can be deduced from statements by Israeli leaders and particularly by the Israeli deputy defense minister that Tel Aviv has returned to the scorched earth tactics. The Zionists are making no attempt to conceal the fact that their aim is to annihilate the Palestinians. The Israeli leaders' insolence has reached the level where they openly declare that any Arab country which dares not to implement Israeli's demands will be the subject of military operations. Such threats have been directed in particualr against Syria.

But what is the source of this Israeli activity? Israel must realize that its aggressive actions against the Arabs are bound to provoke a reaction. This is not 1967. The Arab states have changed, and their relations with the world progressive forces and primarily with the socialist bloc countries have strengthened. To pursue the road of escalating military tension in the Middle East will expose all the Middle East countries, including Israel itself, to a deadly danger.

The logic of events shows that Tel Aviv relies on Washington's support for its aggressive actions. The proofs are too numerous to mention. The United States has supported the piratic raid by Israeli aircraft against the Iraqi nuclear research center. Indeed, the United States participated in planning the raid. When Tel Aviv escalated its aggression against Lebanon, Washington abolished all restrictions on the dispatch of offensive arms to Israel. Philip Habib, President Reagan's envoy, told terrorist Begin that relations between the United States and the Zionist state are stronger today than at any time past. Is all this not tantamount to encouragement to Israeli terrorism and to the mass assassinations committed by the Israelis in the Lebanese territory and to its other threats to other Arab countries? Yet Philip Habib is trying to persuade leaders of the Arab countries which he is touring not to resist Israeli's will and to let it annihilate the Palestinians and destroy Lebanon.

It seems the United States is still hopeful about annexing another Arab country to the traitorous Camp David collusion. But all these hopes are futile. The blood of the Palestinians and the Lebanese which is being shed in Lebanon is still the price which the Arabs have to pay for President as-Sadat's capitulation under the Camp David collusion. Every Arab country could become the victim of aggression as long as the imperialists continue to drive wedges among the Arab countries so successfully.

Israeli Raid Condemned

LD171851 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Beirut, 17 Jul, TASS--The early reports put the tragic toll of today's pirate raid of the Israeli Airforce on the western part of Beirut at about one hundred killed and several hundred wounded. The Palestinian Camps Sabra and Shatila, a sports centre, the Uzai district and other densely populated areas of the Lebanese capital and its suburbs were raided. Attacks by naval vessels, air raids and artillery shelling aimed simultaneously at dozens of population centres in south and central Lebanon. There are more killed and wounded, and new ruins have appeared... The unprecedented arrogance of the statements of Israeli generals and politicians that accompanied the explosions of bombs, shells and mines does not leave a shade of doubt about the fact that Israel has become absolutely certain of its "right" to lord it over in the skies and on the soil of Lebanon, to threaten, to blackmail and to strike out at any targets in the neighbouring Arab countries, even those hundreds of kilometres away.

One cannot fail to see a close relationship between the latest gangster-like and quite unprovoked savage attack on Lebanon and the pirate raid on the nuclear research centre in Baghdad on June 7, 1981.

Indeed, both actions were carefully pre-planned, premeditated and carried out with the use of the latest American weaponry and would have been absolutely impossible for Israel without the support, aid and participation--now direct now indirect--of the United States. By putting up-to-date deadly weapons into the hands of the Zionist aggressors and by justifying in advance and encouraging their activities, the U.S. administration fully shares the responsibility for the crimes that have been committed, for the killed and wounded children, women and old people, for genocide against the Arab people of Palestine and for the terror and international banditry unleashed by Israel. Can the statements of U.S. officials, including the top-ranking ones, to the effect that Israel is the "main strategic bulwark" of the U.S. and its "close and dependable ally" be viewed as anything short of encouragement to the aggressor to perpetrate fresh arrogant sorties? Such statements are being made at a time when the smoke of fires set off by another Israeli raid has not yet dispersed and when the blood of those who died in long-suffering Lebanon has not dried up.

It is symptomatic that Israeli intervention in Lebanon has been dramatically escalated at a time when the U.S. President's special envoy Philip Habib is staying in the Middle East on his so-called "peace-making" mission. Perhaps, nothing exposes the hypocritical character of the American envoy's mission and of Washington's "concern" for the situation in the Middle East so graphically today as the dramatic events in Lebanon. Small wonder that the Arab press has stressed it was Philip Habib who gave the green light to Tel Aviv and pushed it into large-scale acts of aggression against Lebanon.

It is nowadays that reports are coming in from Washington about an agreement of principle reached with Tel Aviv on revoking the temporary postponement of the supplies to Israel of F-16 planes, like those who bombed the nuclear research centre in Baghdad and raided Beirut today. In fact, the aggressor has been given a blessing for using American weapons as it sees fit, without any restrictions.

The growing brazenness and aggressiveness of the Israeli brass, which are a direct consequence of the increasingly aggressive policy of Washington, are strongly and angrily condemned by all those who cherish the cause of detente and peace and are sincerely concerned for the welfare and security of the Middle Eastern peoples. That is why their demand to curb the Israeli aggression is sounding ever stronger.

Tyssovskiy Comment

LD191640 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 19 Jul 81

[TASS commentator Yuriy Tyssovskiy: "Sinister Consequences of the U.S.-Israeli Collusion"]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jul, TASS--More than 1,200 people were killed and over 5,000 wounded as a result of a sharp worsening of the situation in Lebanon in the period since early April till July 18 this year. The bulk of them are victims of open terrorism which the Israeli rulers elevated to the rank of state policy. One should add to these figures scores of deceased whose bodies are being discovered from under the debris of residential quarters of western Beirut destroyed by the missiles and bombs dropped by Israeli air pirates.

Two events command instantaneous attention when one looks at those gruesome statistics: the Mideastern tour of the U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig in early April and the continuing "shuttle diplomacy" of the U.S. "peace-maker"--the U.S. special presidential envoy Philip Habib whose mission is to ensure an "American-style settlement" of the Lebanese tragedy. Exactly these two events marked in time a sharp deterioration of tension in the Middle East. At the same time they show the real face of the "peace-makers" from Washington, and demonstrate the extend of their hypocrisy.

Richard Allen, national security adviser to the U.S. President, described Israel's gangster raids on Lebanon as "legitimate". Tel Aviv was obviously pleased. Alexander Haig accused Syria of "rough" actions in Lebanon, thus triggering off the notorious "missile crisis". Begin and his ilk were greatly delighted, rightfully interpreting Haig's statement as a "green light" for continuing bandit actions in the neighbouring sovereign country. The American press reported that the White House had in principle taken a decision to continue the deliveries of F-16 fighter-bombers to Tel Aviv "suspended" following a bandit raid of the Israeli Airforce on Iraq. Israel at once said that such planes were not for airforce shows and immediately sent F-16 planes to raid peaceful cities and villages of Lebanon. All this is accompanied by eloquent silence of "quiet diplomat" Philip Habib. This once again shows that the "efforts" of the U.S. presidential envoy have nothing in common with attempts to establish peace in the Middle East. Moreover, it is becoming obvious that the actions of the United States are aimed at disrupting a just mid-Eastern settlement.

The analysis of Habib's actions demonstrates that he has been assigned a key role in the upcoming "resuscitation" of the moribund Camp David "peace process". The forthcoming visits of the Egyptian President as-Sadat and Israel's Begin to Washington, in the opinion of the White House, should give an impetus for continuing negotiations on the so-called "administrative autonomy" for the Palestinians. To make Arabs accept the "solution" to the Palestinian problem forced on them from overseas, it is essential that a necessary background be created. In doing so a key task is to weaken in time, and better still--destroy altogether the Palestinian resistance movement, to blackmail and pressure Syria. The parts in this big show have been cast as follows: The dirty work of a terrorist goes to the Israeli premier. Incidentally, he knows his role well right since the time of mass killings of the Arab population in Palestine way back in 1948. Simultaneously Habib is trying to attain the desired result by diplomatic means, by setting Lebanon and Syria, Syria and Saudi Arabia at loggerheads, while going out of his way to protect "the monopoly" of the Israeli Airforce in Lebanon's air space.

The facts show that U.S. diplomats, from Haig through Habib, talking peace in the Middle East have brought only blood, destruction and suffering to the Arabs. Then what are the long-term prospects of such a policy? After bombing out Iraq's nuclear center and raiding Beirut, where numerous civilians were killed, Israel guaranteed that the Arabs will buy nuclear weapons with their oil proceeds or acquire them in some other way, the New York TIMES writes today. Washington is well aware of that, and nevertheless it continues financing the Israeli policy. At the same time President Reagan intends to resume the delivery of planes with the help of which Israel carries out such a policy. Washington's unqualified support for the Israeli policy, regardless of what Begin is doing, the White House's hostile rhetorics against Moscow, the reluctance to reach agreement on nuclear arms issues will cause new dangerous problems in the world, the New York TIMES stresses. One can only agree with such a conclusion.

GROMYKO MESSAGE TO IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

LD171826 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul, TASS--Andrey Gromyko, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, has sent a telegram to Mir Hoseyn Musavi congratulating him on the occasion of his appointment as minister of foreign affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In a reply telegram Mir Hoseyn Musavi expressed gratitude for the congratulations.

RADIO REPORTS AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS 17-19 JUL

LD180124/LD200323 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 17 July. Times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

17 July

In the Omskaya Oblast almost 1 million tons of fodder have already been procured. (0130 GMT)

Harvesting began in Brestskaya Oblast. In the Ukraine, over 5 million hectares have been harvested. Rains are hindering work. In Azerbaijan two-thirds of the planned grain has been procured. (0400 GMT)

In Saratovskaya Oblast farms of 15 rayons are harvesting winter rye and wheat. Many farms are using double windrows to avoid loss of grain and straw. The farms of the Ukraine finished the first mowing of grass. Aleksey Grigoriyevich Denisenko, Ukrainian deputy minister of agriculture, talks about fodder procurement: It was a determining factor in fodder production in the Ukraine that this important sector was made an independent branch. The first fruits are at hand--because of the reduction in sowing of annual grass, by approximately 650,000 hectares, the sowing of perennial grass was expanded. The fodder range was augmented with such valuable crops as perko, winter rape and new mixtures. Work became better organized particularly during the hay-mowing season. The new crops made it possible to receive the first green fodder for cattle 2 weeks earlier than the normal crops sown. With regard to quality, 86 percent of the hay procured is either first or second class and it is a better quality of haylage than in the past The serious difficulty was, of course, due to a lack of special machines. However, much was done by the mechanics who widely used old disused CK-4 combine harvesters. Ventilation is used in the storage of hay more widely than before. About 4.2 million tons of hay were obtained from the first mowing. The Dnepropetrovskaya, Kirovogradskaya, Odesskaya, Ternopolskaya, Khmelnitskaya Oblasts already fulfilled their annual quota. The laying in of haylage is going well, as well as the production of vitaminized grass-meal. (1000 GMT)

The Don region delivered 500,000 tons of grain to state stores. Grain was cut on two-thirds of the area. (1100 GMT)

Work is in full swing among fodder procurers, who have to collect for the winter some 1 and 1/2 million tons for the Georgian republic as a whole. To this end, voluntary Saturday work is in progress in various areas. (1330 GMT)

Harvest work started in the north of Kurskaya Oblast. Reaping and threshing on the whole area of grain crops which occupies 1,130,000 hectares will, it is planned, be carried out in 15-18 days. Winter crops and peas ripened earlier than usual in the southern Non-Chernozem Zone. Mass harvesting started by all farms in Moldavia. Harvesting is in full swing at the farms of Dzhizakskaya and Tashkentskaya Oblasts. (1750 GMT)

The harvest started in southern areas of Semipalatinskaya Oblast, Kazakhstan. Winter wheat and barley are being reaped and threshed. Grain crops occupy 1.1 million hectares in the oblast. (1800 GMT)

In the fields of the southern areas of Turkmenia it will soon be time for the mass removal of top foliage of cotton plants. Scientists of the republican academy of sciences in conjunction with growers are successfully introducing into production a special preparation called TUR which is produced by Kemerovo nitrogenous fertilizer works for the chemical removal of cotton top foliage. It halves the cost of carrying out top foliage removal and increases productivity several times over. The preparation has also undergone tests in the processing of cotton. This year it will be used on over 10,000 hectares. (1904 GMT)

More than 1 million tons of fodder was procured by Altayskiy Kray farms. Despite the exceptionally dry summer, the rate of the haymaking is faster than last year.

A package of measures is being implemented to boost fodder procurement: Forest clearings and the marshy flood plains of rivers and lakes are being mown by hand. Haymaking teams moved equipment to high slopes and points in the taiga where the grass has not suffered from the drought. Dozens of thousands of townspeople and residents of rayon centers have come to the aid of farmers. (2300 GMT)

18 Jul

Tadzhikistan: Successes in fodder preparations by rayons are reported. Grasses were cut in the republic on an area of over 225,000 hectares--almost 90 percent of the plan. More hay, straw, haylage, silage and other succulent fodder than last year have been laid in. Twice as much forage grain and root crops as last year were laid in. (0000 GMT)

Kuban: Some 500,000 tons of grain were delivered to elevators. Harvesting of winter crops is under way in all rayons of Saratovskaya Oblast; grain has been cut on an area of 300,000 hectares. In south Uzbekistan, corn has ripened. Harvesting began. In Kharkovskaya Oblast procurement of wheat has begun. (0400 GMT)

Kurskaya Oblast: All rayons are engaged in mass harvesting. Today almost a quarter of the area of grain crops has been reaped. Altayskiy Kray: Over 1 million tons of fodder, one-third of the plan, has been laid in. Harvesting is being done manually on wet water meadows and mountainsides. Hundreds of thousands of townspeople are helping with the work. (0600 GMT)

Over 700,000 tons of grain were delivered to the reception centers of Rostovskaya Oblast. In Stavropolskiy Kray the harvest is proceeding in bad weather conditions. Cereals in the kray have been threshed on one-third of the area. The Mariyskaya Non-Chernozem Zone today joined the harvesting campaign. Altogether grain crops are to be harvested from over 350,000 hectares in Mariyskaya ASSR. (1100 GMT)

19 Jul

Mass reaping of grains began in Tulaskaya Oblast. The southern rayons plan to finish cutting winter crops in 3 to 4 days. Grains went to the elevators in Ryazanskaya Oblast and threshing of winter wheat swathes has begun. Grain is being received by procurement points in Zaporoshskaya Oblast. (1200 GMT)

In Moldavia grain crops were reaped on an area of 200,000 hectares. (1300 GMT)

To date more than 1 million tons of fodder--that is one-third of the plan--was procured in farms of Altayskiy Kray. Special attention is paid to the production of vitamin-rich grass meal and fodder granules. Already 80,000 tons of this valuable fodder were produced--almost twice as much as this time last year. (1750 GMT)

SELSKAYA ZHIZN PUBLISHES FODDER HARVEST REVIEW

PM200802 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 10 Jul 81 p 1

["Agricultural Review" prepared by the USSR Ministry of Agriculture, the all-union fodder institute and the SELSKAYA ZHIZN Editorial Board: "Summer Days Feed the Year"]

[Text] Mid-summer is one of the busiest times for people working in the fields. In many parts of the country high temperatures have accelerated vegetation, made it necessary to step up the fodder procurement rate and improve the tending of crops, and altered the harvest dates. The harvest front is moving daily northward. Over 1 million hectares of grain crops have already been cut on the Don. Each day sees the figure rise by 200,000 hectares.

Everywhere work is organized in accordance with the Ipatov Method. In particular, over 1,200 harvesting and transportation complexes and detachments in the Kuban are cutting and threshing the area's main grain crop--winter wheat. Endeavoring to tighten the harvest schedule and thereby prevent losses, most farms are operating two shifts. The idea is that the combine operators are changed after 3-4 hour stints. In Stavropolskiy Kray this method has been introduced in all harvesting complexes. Around 800 have been set up there.

The grain has arrived at elevators and reception centers. To the procurement workers' credit most collectives have prepared well for the harvest and are ready for the tight schedule. In Moldavia wheat and barley are now arriving direct from the fields--the transshipment areas for temporary storage of grain have been put in reserve.

The dry and hot weather has considerably accelerated the development of perennial grasses--they flowered and stopped growing earlier than usual. The farms which started harvesting promptly are the ones which have benefited. They already have a pretty good second cut and there is a real chance of gathering a third harvest. Haymaking has been well organized in Belorussia and Azerbaijan, where 62-75 percent of the grass has been cut, and also in the Ukraine, Lithuania and Uzbekistan. Unfortunately this is not the case everywhere. By the beginning of July only one-third of the grass had been cut. Farmers in Armenia and Georgia are behind. They have harvested only 18-21 percent of the natural and sown grasses for hay and haylage. Leading farms in Central Asia are already at the end of the third cut, while a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Turkmenia have not even completed the first.

Nature allows a period of only 2-2.5 weeks as the optimum time for harvesting grasses when the nutrient, protein and vitamin content is at the maximum level. With this in mind, farmers in Moskovskaya Oblast organized mass haymaking and have cut 91 percent of the grass area for hay and haylage and laid in 708,000 tons of hay--four-fifths of the planned amount. But farmers in Yaroslavskaya and Kostromskaya Oblasts have harvested less than one-third of the grass and have fulfilled the hay procurement target by only 17-18 percent.

Kalininskaya Oblast is behind with fodder procurement, as it was a year ago. Nearly two-thirds of the grass has still to be cut. The hay procurement plan has been fulfilled by only 25 percent and the haylage plan by only 9 percent. You would think that all efforts would be focused on finishing the cutting, but from the very start of the haymaking campaign the oblast press has been insisting that weeds, chervil and even burdock should be harvested for fodder. Consequently, in 3 days only 100 tons of hay were laid in, but they did get 700,000 brooms. Of course, all plant material must be used for animal fodder. But it is advisable to harvest the sown and natural grasses first and only then set about the weeds.

Although in many oblasts more grass has been cut than by the same time last year, the current rate is quite unsatisfactory. It is important to harvest all the remaining grass in the next few days. Otherwise we may lose not only a lot of fodder but also fodder quality.

There are unfavorable conditions for fodder crops in the Central Chernozem Region and in a number of oblasts in the Ukraine and the Volga area. But here too, after July rain, one can expect additional fodder harvests from future cuts. We must not waste time. All the short, overripe grass must be cut quickly to allow a new harvest to form from the young shoots. Not everywhere is this fact recognized. Some 74 percent of the grass has been cut in Belgorodskaya Oblast and 66 percent in Volgogradskaya Oblast, but only 37 percent has been cut in Tambovskaya Oblast and 35 percent in the Bashkirskaya ASSR. Not surprisingly, the hay procurement plan has been fulfilled by only 15 percent in Tambovskaya Oblast and 14 percent in Ulyanovskaya Oblast.

Ukrainian farms are nearest to completing the hay procurement target, having fulfilled the plan by 83 percent. The republic's farmers have laid in around 3.9 million tons of this fodder--nearly four times as much as by the same time last year. More than half the planned quantity of hay has been procured by kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Uzbekistan and Lithuania and over 60 percent in Moldavia.

In addition to procuring hay the country's farms are storing grass as haylage. Strict observance of all the rules relating to laying in haylage makes it possible to markedly increase the nutrient yield per hectare. Farms in Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Lithuania have already overfulfilled plans for laying in haylage, and farms in Kirgizia and Kazakhstan are not far off. The fate of this year's perennial grass harvest depends on prompt watering, especially in the Ukraine, the lower Volga area, the Central Chernozem Region and Rostovskaya Oblast. In these areas productive moisture reserves in the half-meter soil layer have dropped below 50 mm. In order to obtain a full second cut in these conditions it is essential to top-dress the grass with mineral fertilizers and organize irrigation. All local sources (ponds, reservoirs) are being used, as well as stationary irrigation systems. Where there is a shortage of watering equipment, irrigation by flooding is practiced and channels are cut to make better use of every cubic meter of water.

In order to increase fodder production it is extremely important to expand sowing of fodder crops after cutting and after reaping. Output from irrigated hayfields and pastures will play an important part in this year's fodder balance. It is important to top-dress this land with mineral fertilizers (60-80 kg per hectare) and carry out irrigation promptly. Even in the Non-Chernozem Zone the irrigation norm must be at least 450-550 cubic meters per hectare and in southern parts the irrigation level must be increased by 50-100 percent. Some 40 percent of the shortage of nitrogen fertilizers for meadows can be made up from stockraising refuse and liquid manure (single application norm--200-400 cubic meters per hectare).

Farms in the RSFSR have already laid in 5.1 million tons of silage and farms in the Ukraine have laid in 4.1 million tons. At the moment grass is being used for silage. But very soon we will have corn which makes up more than three-fourths of this fodder. A big harvest can be obtained nearly everywhere, in many regions with milky-and waxy-ripe cobs, which means a sharp increase in fodder quality. By the end of June corn had reached the 15-17 leaf stage in the Ukraine, Krasnodarskiy Kray and the North Caucasus and the 10-12 leaf stage in the Non-Chernozem Zone. Most of the crops are in good condition and farms have generally completed weeding and top-dressing and have combatted weeds and pests. The main thing now is to water them. Right now the rudimentary cobs are forming--the phase when watering is particularly necessary, above all on farms in the Volga area, eastern parts of the Central Chernozem Region, the Ukraine and the North Caucasus, where soil moisture is at a critical level--25-35 mm. The requisite irrigation norms here are 300-600 cubic meters per hectare.

In places where corn has not been adequately fertilized there is still time to fill the gap by foliage top-dressing (30-45 kg of urea per hectare), which is carried out 1-2 weeks after flowering.

Fodder procurement is gathering speed. The USSR Central Statistical Administration reported that 27.6 million hectares of natural and sown grasses had been cut for hay and haylage by 6 July. Some 22.5 million tons of hay and 30.3 million tons of haylage have been procured, 11.8 million tons of silage have been laid in and 2.4 million tons of artificially dehydrated fodder have been produced.

GORBACHEV COMMENTS ON AGRICULTURAL EFFECTIVENESS

LD171548 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Moscow, 17 Jul, TASS--The ways to raise the effectiveness of agricultural production worked out by the 26th CPSU Congress, provide for a further intensification of the technical equipment of agriculture, acceleration of the scientific and technological progress, broad use by collective and state farms of the achievements of Soviet and world science and of the advanced experience, a resolute enhancing of the effectiveness of the use of lands, especially those irrigated and improved, the use of fertilizers, fodder, and increased crop yields, writes Mikhail Gorbachev, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

He wrote in the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIE (POLITICAL SELF-EDUCATION) on the 26th CPSU Congress and the agrarian policy of the party. The country will continue to earmark for agriculture major financial and material resources, to continue to place agriculture on an industrial basis in a planned manner, the author points out.

"Despite the unfavourable weather conditions for a number of years," Mikhail Gorbachev writes, "the average annual harvest of grain in the last five years was higher than the average level of 1961-1965 by 75 million tons. The production of meat in the same period increased over 1.6 times, of milk--from 65 to 93 million tons and of eggs--from 29 to 63 billion pieces. As a result, a new, higher level has been reached in providing with food products the working people whose daily diet today constitutes on average 3,200 calories per capita, or is at the level of the most developed countries of the world. Since 1965, the USSR population increased by more than 34 million people, while the per capita meat consumption increased by 16 kilograms, of milk--by 63 kilograms and of eggs--by 114 pieces. There has also been a substantial increase in the consumption of fish. At the same time, however, there are definite difficulties in providing the people with agricultural products. This is especially so with regard to meat and the other cattle-breeding products. This, among other things, has been due to the fact that the recent years have seen in our country significant changes in the internal market. Money incomes of all the categories of population have substantially increased, wages and salaries have grown as well as pensions, different allowances and stipends. In 1965, four per cent of the population had a monthly income of 100 and more roubles per member of the family, while in 1980 about half the population is in this position. The substantial increase in the people's purchasing power, combined with stable retail prices, has brought about a sharp increase in the demand for the most valuable food products. In these conditions the rate of growth in the population of a number of food and some other consumer products have proved insufficient."

FLOODING IN GEORGIA DAMAGES VEGETABLES, VINEYARDS

LD180636 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Tbilisi: Pouring rain in recent days in all of eastern and western Georgia has caused floods. [Words indistinct] in Sagaredzhskiy Rayon the waters and mud torrents destroyed a dam. Near the town of Chiatura several bridges were swept away, and electric power transmission lines were damaged. Serious harm was sustained by (?Georgian agriculture) in haricot beans, vegetables and vineyards. In the rayons which suffered from the elements, operations headquarters were set up. The necessary equipment was sent to towns and villages, including building materials.

SOLOMENTSEV TOURS RSFSR AGRICULTURAL RAYONS

LD192136 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Jul 81

[Excerpt] From 14-19 July Mikhail Sergeyevich Solomentsev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, visited Belgorodskaya, Kurskaya, Voronezhskaya, Lipetskaya and Tambovskaya Oblasts. He visited many agricultural rayons and acquainted himself with the progress of the fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the organization of the harvesting and of the procurement of fodder.

YEPISHEV ON ROLE OF MORALE IN COMBAT READINESS

PM171225 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jul 81 pp 2-3

[Article by Army Gen A. Yepishev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, under the rubric "Soviet Armed Forces' Combat Potential": "Indestructible Morale"]

[Text] In the leadership of all aspects of our Armed Forces' development, Lenin's party pays tremendous attention to increasing the Soviet servicemen's spiritual readiness to defend the socialist fatherland courageously. Society's sociopolitical and ideological unity, which strengthens in the course of building communism and which is the mobilizing force of ideological work, ensures the formation in the motherland's defenders of a high degree of ideological conviction, awareness and discipline and the ability to use to the full their weapons' combat potential and to defeat any aggressor.

The unity of materiel and spiritual factors in warfare has always been of decisive significance. The weightier each factor, the higher the combat potential. Neither of them can be belittled without harming the Armed Forces' combat migh .

The 26th party congress focuses our attention on the fact that the Armed Forces' combat potential is not simply the sum of a high degree of technical equipping, military skill, and indestructible morale but their firm fusion. The servicemen's education and training, in other words, is put on a par with the provisions of modern weapons and combat equipment for the units and ships. The enhanced responsibility of commanders political organs, party and Komsomol organizations for maintaining high morale in the army and navy is thus stressed.

When we speak of high morale, we have in mind primarily the active, effective aspect of all spiritual forces of the army and navy, that is, the concentrated expression of the mobilizing forces of the communist world outlook and people's morality, their patriotism and internationalism, heroism and courage, discipline and comradeship. It is ultimately a question of the degree of strength of the Armed Forces' combat morale, their readiness and ability to resolve successfully combat training tasks of any complexity and in the event of war to endure its toughest ordeals and not to lose their will but to win victory. History convincingly confirms V.I. Lenin's idea expressed in the profoundly substantiated conclusion: "In any war victory is ultimately conditioned by the morale of the masses who shed their blood on the battlefield" ("Complete Collected Works" Vol 41, p 121).

In life we rightly identify the troops' morale with their political and moral condition thus emphasizing the decisive role of political ideas, knowledge, moral feelings and sentiments in the spiritual forces of the army and navy. During the war the Soviet command, as is well known, took strictly into account the political and moral condition of the personnel of the armies, divisions and units. The staunchest troops which had distinguished themselves by their great fighting spirit were advanced to the crucial sectors of the front. In the hands of such servicemen weapons seemingly acquired additional strength.

The in-depth assimilation of Lenin's ideas on the defense of the socialist fatherland and the CPSU's policy, the comprehension of the objective need to maintain the Armed Forces in a state of constant combat readiness act as the most important spiritual incentives to the improvement of the servicemen's specialized training and the enhancement of combat readiness, discipline and organization. The solution of these tasks is also assisted by the moral tempering of the servicemen, the rallying of the collectives, and the assertion in them of the norms of communist morality.

The successful leadership of the troops presupposes the all-round consideration of all elements of the moral factor, which includes socioideological and sociopsychological elements. The former reflect most fully the political goals and task of communist building and the defense of the gains of socialism and theoretical views while the latter reflect public opinion, traditions, customs and other notions of life formed under the direct influence of conditions of service and the execution of combat operations. Constant monitoring of the servicemen's ideological training and their political awareness and also of the "scale" of feelings in the collective and the state of the personnel's resolve, making it possible constantly to maintain the troops' fighting spirit at a high level ensuring the solution of any tasks is therefore important in work on building up morale.

In analyzing the elements of the Armed Forces' combat potential we proceed from the fact that the significance of the troops' morale is increasing under present conditions. This is conditioned primarily by the essence of the potential war which the imperialists are preparing against the socialist countries. In terms of its political content it can only be a decisive class-based confrontation between the two opposite social systems. The uncompromising nature of the war, if the imperialists succeed in unleashing it, will require the supreme mobilization of the spiritual forces of the army and navy and the courage and selflessness of each Soviet serviceman.

The enhancement of the role of the morale of the troops and naval forces is also conditioned by the development of modern weapons and equipment, the emergence of new forces and methods of armed struggle, and the nature of modern warfare, distinguished by unprecedented intensity, resolve and maneuverability. A high degree of moral, political and psychological staunchness and a high degree of combat vigor is required from the servicemen to withstand its ordeals and to win victory.

As is well known, right now the fulfillment of the tasks of standing combat duty and sailing the world's oceans leave their mark on the servicemen's consciousness and conduct. The personnel engaged in such service is in fact living by the norms and law of a combat situation and is in a state of constant combat readiness for rebelling an attack by any aggressor.

The indestructible morale of our Armed Forces has a firm foundation. It was generated by the socialist social and state system and is the result of the assertion of a communist world outlook and Marxist-Leninist ideology in our people's social consciousness. The strength of the army's morale lies in the moral strength of the people which is wrought by the party of communists.

With the victory of Great October preconditions were created for the masses' assimilation of truly scientific ideas of the world's revolutionary transformation and for the enhancement of the role of conscious principles in building a new society and its armed defense. At every stage of this great creative activity, the increasingly effective accelerators of social progress have been the spiritual forces of socialist society and the Soviet people, demonstrating their great superiority over the illusions, prejudices and morals of the capitalist world. "...Morally, understanding this idea not from the viewpoint of abstract morality, of course, but as the correlation of real forces of all classes in all states--we are stronger than anyone," V.I. Lenin stressed (Vol 44 p 300).

The indestructible strength of the spirit of the Soviet people and their servicemen was the most important source of our victory in the Great Patriotic War. If in their technical equipping our troops initially ranked behind the enemy, in terms of moral strength they utterly surpassed the enemy. Unswerving confidence in the correctness of the great cause of communism and love for the socialist motherland helped Soviet servicemen to curb and halt the aggressor and then inflict a crushing defeat on him. The ideas of communism and the brotherhood of working people of all countries, humanism and collectivism won a most convincing victory over the misanthropic ideology of fascism.

It is particularly appropriate to recall this now that we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the first battles of the Great Patriotic War. The lessons of history clearly failed to benefit some people. The aggressive circles of the United States and other NATO countries are continuing to push mankind toward a nuclear conflict. The pitch of the atmosphere in the world, as Comrade L.I. Brezhnev stressed in his speech at the fifth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is becoming increasingly dangerous.

The Soviet state has given mankind new evidence of its tireless concern for preserving peace on earth. The appeal "to the world's parliaments and peoples" adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet fifth session is one more specific embodiment of the peace program for the eighties put forward by the 26th party congress.

The materials of the 26th congress of Lenin's party contain a profound substantiation of the reasons which face the CPSU and the Soviet Government with the need to display tireless concern for the consolidation of the motherland's defense might. These are primarily the course of the United States and the other NATO countries toward hiking the arms race and unleashing acute military conflicts. There are also the plans of the imperialist reaction which is seeking to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist community countries.

A profound consideration of the reasons for the increased danger of war, the ability to analyze the changes taking place in the military and political situation and to draw conclusions for oneself on the plan of enhancing combat readiness are the most important demand made now on work in forming the troops' high morale.

The role of social awareness is increased under the conditions of developed socialism. The Soviet people's ideological conviction and moral tempering and their degree of education and culture are acting as increasingly powerful incentives to constructive labor and the enhancement of their responsibility to society. As the 26th party congress noted, the Soviet person has changed. His knowledge has been enriched, his erudition has been enhanced and his spiritual requirements have grown considerably.

The changes in Soviet people's social and spiritual complexion are exerting beneficial influence on the spiritual forces of the army and navy. The successful fulfillment of plans for communist building and the steady improvement of the party's ideological work and young people's military-patriotic education are having a favorable influence on the army and navy personnel. The increase in the proportion of representatives of the working class in the Armed Forces is having a direct effect on its ideological and moral state just as the fact that over 40 percent of draftees from the countryside are machine operators is having an effect. Some 90 percent of those drafted to military service are now party members or candidate members or Komsomol members.

Young men with a good general education are joining the army and navy. In 1976 among those drafted to military service 72 percent had secondary and higher education, 27 percent had incomplete secondary education while only 0.8 percent had just primary education. Today virtually 100 percent of servicemen with higher and secondary education is about 80 percent. Over 84 percent of the present draftees joining the Armed Forces have various specialties acquired in industry and agriculture.

All this creates new opportunities for the growth of the spiritual forces of the army and navy. The personnel's morale as an element of the Armed Forces' combat potential is now characterized by a high level of political tempering, moral maturity and social activeness. In the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said: "The sons and grandsons of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War are now in the ranks of the motherland's defenders. They have not undergone the harsh ordeals which were the lot of their fathers and grandfathers. But they are loyal to the heroic traditions of our army and people.

"And whenever the interests of the country's security and the defense of peace require, when the victims of aggression must be helped, the Soviet servicemen appears to the world as a selfless and courageous patriot, an internationalist ready to surmount any difficulties."

The consolidation of the Armed Forces' morale is the result of the increased potential of the developed socialist society and the formation of a new social and international community of people whose name is the Soviet people. At the same time the indestructible spirit of the army and navy is the result of the party's vigorous ideological activity nd the educational efforts of the military councils, commanders, political workers and party and Komsomol organizations.

In the course of the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Educational Work" there was heightened interest on the part of all categories of servicemen in the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and the decisions of the party, the works, opuses and speeches of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, and topical questions of Soviet military building. The scientific and offensive nature of all forms of political study and their link with life have been increased, effective methods of information and propaganda work have begun to be used more actively, making it possible to take into account the dynamics of present day social life and the features of the ideological struggle in the world arena.

The main thing in party political work to build up the morale of the army and navy is the in-depth study of the decisions of the 26th party congress and the struggle for their implementation. All organizational and political work of the military councils, commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations should be pervaded by the explanation of the Communist Party's leading role in the building of communism, the defense of the country, and the multifaceted activity of its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, that outstanding politician and statesman of the present day.

The restructuring of many sectors and spheres of ideological work in the light of the congress requirements is designed to strengthen the servicemen's morale. The content of this work should always accord with the requirements of the day and its form should accord with people's needs and the servicemen's improved cultural standard. It is time to battle resolutely against hackneyed phrases and trite language, seeking the effective impact of the party's word on man's awareness and feelings. Our propaganda cannot bypass acute topics or fear to touch on the so-called difficult questions which life produces. Much must be done to improve the work of the mass information and propaganda media and the political study system.

What questions are of concern to people today? Which categories of personnel were reached by one or other piece of information and which were not? What is their attitude to it and what are the prevailing moods in the collective? It is difficult to expect measures relating to mass political work to succeed if these and many other similar questions are not cleared up and taken into account.

The task of ensuring that our cadres master the art of controlling the political and moral condition of the personnel of a unit or subunit is a topical one from the standpoint of increasing the spiritual strength of the army and navy. It is imperative that the educational potential of military labor, discipline, commanders' decisions and socialist competition be more fully exploited.

Combat training and the struggle to ensure that combat training tasks are fulfilled to a high standard have an impact on the creation of soldiers when each exercise is approached from a political angle and with the same high degree of responsibility for the motherland's security with which Soviet servicemen are entrusted. It is vitally important to raising morale that the personnel have a firm grasp of the party's conclusions concerning the current world military-political climate and that on this basis an attitude to the danger of war as a harsh reality of the day is formed.

Servicemen's moral-political and psychological tempering is enhanced in the course of troop exercises, operational missile launchings, flights, standing combat duty and voyages on the world's oceans by submarines and surface ships. It is there that valuable experience is born and the psychological models, which provide a clear idea of how the personnel's training and education must be organized so as to ensure that they accord as fully as possible with the exigencies of actual modern combat, evolve. Commanders and political organs must strive to ensure that every measure relating to party political work yields the maximum return in exercises.

Military labor's educational role is only fully revealed when this labor is scientifically organized and has logistic organizations and moral-political backup. The 26th CPSU Congress decisions give added topicality to questions relating to increasing political and party influence in staffs and management organs and among all categories of leadership cadres. The successful application in servicemen's training and education of scientific principles which take account of the exigencies of modern combat and the recommendations of military pedagogy and psychology and which ensure that effective use is made of the experience of the Great Patriotic War and the experience accumulated in the course of mastering modern weaponry, depends on army and navy cadres.

In a sense, the dynamics of morale also depend on the development of weapons and equipment and on the successes achieved in solving training tasks. The logic here is that more sophisticated weapons and the ability to use them skillfully raises morale and instills self-confidence.

The state of military discipline is a vital indicator of troops' morale. Strict and scrupulous observance of socialist legality, the oath of allegiance and regulations by all servicemen ensures the successful fulfillment of tasks both large and small.

A decisive role in producing disciplined and industrious servicemen is assigned to the sole commander, who bears personal responsibility to the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for ensuring the permanent combat and mobilization readiness of the unit or subunit and organizes the life, routine, training and combat activities of his subordinates. By making constant and fair demands on the serviceman the commander teaches him to be composed, self-possessed and ready for action. The efforts of political organs and party and Komsomol organizations must also be geared toward developing these qualities.

Socialist competition has an enormous mobilizing force. The 26th congress pointed out competition's ideological, educational and sociopolitical role and stressed that it is in competition that examples of how to understand one's social duty, heroism and selflessness in labor are forged.

Unfortunately competition's potential for raising troops' morale is still not being fully exploited. In running competition attention is sometimes focused on the quantitative side of things, on increasing the number of excellent ratings and class specialists, while in the meantime the targets for improving the quality and increasing the effectiveness of combat training and its end results as a whole in the subunit or unit or on the ship are not defined sufficiently clearly. In competition among officers questions relating to improving special training and methodological skills are not always given their proper place. Competition on the basis of tasks and quotas and between specialists, units and ships, and the "progressive formation" movement must be further developed.

Military cadres' work style and their party commitment, principledness, efficiency and personal exemplariness are a powerful device for raising troops' morale. Success very largely depends on officers, generals and admirals having a closer relationship with their subordinates and on the ability to create an atmosphere of mutual trust in which the person more fully reveals himself and speaks his mind. To show concern for the cohesion of military collectives and to make full use of the power of army and navy public opinion for educational purposes is to guarantee that servicemen's consciousness, feelings and behavior are profoundly influenced and that they develop high morale. Fully and unreservedly endorsing the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy, Soviet servicemen are persistently solving the tasks set by the 26th party congress in the sphere of strengthening the country's defense. Infinitely loyal to the motherland and the party's great ideals and closely rallied around its Leninist banner, the Soviet Armed Forces are reliably safeguarding their people's peaceful labor and the gains of socialism.